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THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CHILD LABOR[1]

AT A recent meeting of the St. Louis Bar Association, the Child Labor Amendment was made the target of violent attack by Mr. Clarence Martin, president of the American Bar Association. The address was given wide publicity in the press, and the writer is informed that the performance was repeated later in other places. Because of his position, Mr. Martin's discussion has been received by many as representing the views not only of the or-

[1] This paper was prepared originally as an address before the St. Louis Conference of Social Workers on May 15, 1933. At that time the recovery program of the National Administration had been enacted only in part. The subsequent inclusion of child labor prohibitions in industrial codes renders obsolete the author's suggestions for re-enacting a child labor law or seeking from the Supreme Court a redetermination of the constitutionality of the original statutes. The code provisions have achieved all that could be accomplished by either suggestion—for the time being. But the recovery legislation expires by express limitation in 1934 and is subject to the possibility of termination prior to that time by an adverse Supreme Court decision. Permanent consolidation of the gain achieved through the codes, therefore, requires ratification of the Amendment or a reversal of the Court's attitude in the child labor cases when it comes to pass upon the recovery legislation. It is the writer's belief that if ratification can be secured before the Court is required to pass upon the recovery legislation, the result will be not only a stable legal base for national child labor legislation, but also in effect a popular mandate to the Court that the philosophy of the child labor decisions shall not be extended to the recovery legislation. It may be noted that since the paper was prepared three additional states have ratified the Amendment, bringing the total number to fifteen. Unfortunately Texas and West Virginia have defeated resolutions for ratification. The writer has been informed that Mr. Martin's address was influential in both instances.

ganization which he heads, but also of the legal profession. This is unfortunate, since it characterizes both as holding to a political and governmental philosophy now passing rapidly into the discard along with the underlying social and economic philosophy of "rugged individualism." Whether the majority of the profession would agree with Mr. Martin, it is impossible to say. But it is certainly true that a large and growing element among lawyers dissent, not only with reference to the merits of the Child Labor Amendment, but also in relation to the fundamental political philosophy of the opposition.

At the time of the St. Louis address, the country had not witnessed its first children's strike, created by conditions which have been characterized as "the ultimate horror of the depression." Those who were informed knew the tragic conditions in Allentown, Northampton, and other sweat-shop communities, but the facts had not been publicized sufficiently to arouse the sentiment of the country. However, interest in the problem of child employment had been revived because of its relation to the general unemployment situation. This was reflected in the fact that four legislatures (since increased to six) had acted favorably upon the Amendment during the past year. From 1924, when the Amendment was proposed following the action of the Supreme Court in declaring the second child labor law unconstitutional, to 1932, only six states had ratified it. Had normal economic conditions continued, it is probable this would have disposed of the Amendment. Practically speaking, it had become a "deadletter." However, the action of these four states brought it back to life, thus creating Mr. Martin's concern and bringing about his attack.

I

Social progress in the form of national legislation is faced constantly with the three hurdles of so-called "natural rights," "state rights," and "republican institutions." Behind these legal and political dogmas of the eighteenth century all forms of commercialized greed have sought to establish their interests beyond the reach of governmental control. They are the sheep's wool in which the institution of human slavery was legally clothed; the guise under which railway combinations and other forms of trusts sought freedom from

national restraint in order to establish national monopoly; the shield behind which vast power combinations seek similar freedom today; the basis upon which workmen's compensation acts, minimum wage laws, laws regulating hours of labor, and all other forms of legislation in the public interest have been resisted. Nowhere have these hoary philosophies been more effectively employed than in tying the hands of the federal government in the protection of children. To them primarily Mr. Martin appeals to prevent this power from being liberated for this humanitarian purpose. Although he presents arguments as to the scope of and need for the Amendment, his fundamental attack is based upon these principles.

II

The broadest argument is that the Amendment invades the natural rights of the parent. Mr. Martin contends that it would confer a right that the states do not possess and would set aside natural law giving parents the fundamental rights to protect the child's health and morals, and to educate him properly. The full scope of the contention is indicated in the following language:

> Whatever arguments may be made by the Amendment's defenders the labor conditions of youths of seventeen do not have to be regulated or prohibited by governmental action. The power would be too broad, too indefinite, too general. There must be ulterior reasons. There are. The proposed grant is not a child employment Amendment, it is an ingenious attempt to nationalize children, making them responsible to the government instead of to their parents. It strikes a blow to the home and takes from the states whatever rights they possess relative to the matter. It is time to call a halt.

Mr. Martin resorted to the natural rights argument by way of objection to the scope of the Amendment, which he thinks too broad in that it includes child labor as well as child employment. It is difficult to find any logical basis for such a distinction in the natural rights theory. In fact, if the theory is valid it would be applicable not only to child labor but also to child employment and to all other forms of governmental promotion of child welfare. It would apply to compulsory education, compulsory vaccination, and to state as well as to national regulation and protection. Consistency in the application of the theory would require not only rejection of the Amendment but also repeal of all state legislation affecting child labor and

child welfare. The logical result would be to establish the parent as the sole and exclusive agency for the protection of the child. This argument may be dismissed without further consideration except to say that characterization of the Amendment as an attempt at one blow to nationalize children and to destroy home and the state is merely an extreme instance of the popular pastime of "red baiting." Mr. Martin has yet to learn that the theory of natural rights was effectively disposed of by Ritchie more than a generation ago.

III

He also contends that adoption of the Amendment would be but a step in the destruction of our republican form of government and substitution of a social democracy. This argument apparently is derived from the statement made by Justice Day in concluding the opinion in which the first child-labor law was held unconstitutional:[2]

> The far-reaching result of upholding the Act cannot be more plainly indicated than by pointing out that if Congress can thus regulate matters intrusted to local authority by prohibition of the movement of commodities in Interstate Commerce, all freedom of commerce will be at an end and the power of the states over local matters may be eliminated and thus our system of government be practically destroyed.

This argument in the form advanced by Mr. Martin involves an obvious confusion of the conceptions of *republican* government and *federal* government. In substance it amounts to this, that republican government cannot exist in the absence of a federal system, or when the so-called rights of the states are invaded. The republican principle consists in government by representatives, not in any theory of separation of powers or functions as between state and federal governments. The Amendment may be conceived as invading the appropriate field of state action. But it cannot conceivably violate the principle of representative government since its sole effect is to vest in the representatives of the people the power to regulate child labor. The real question involved is whether the Amendment does invade the appropriate sphere of state activity. In substance this is the argument which prevailed when the Supreme Court held the child-labor laws unconstitutional.

[2] *Hammer* v. *Dagenhart*, 274 U.S. 251, 62 L. ed. 1101, 38 S.Ct. 529 (1918).

The question of the appropriate sphere of national and state powers is one which may arise in relation to either a constitutional amendment or an act of Congress. Upon the former, the issue is one of political and social policy. Although the amendment may effect a transfer—even an improper transfer—of political power from the state to the national government, there is no legal objection to it, provided it is properly adopted. But the question assumes legal form when it affects an act of Congress. The Constitution does not expressly distribute powers between the states and the federal government on the basis of their national and local character. The cardinal theory of the federal system is that the federal government is one of limited powers—i.e., its powers are limited to those expressly granted by the constitution—while the states are reservoirs of general power limited only by the express prohibitions of the federal and state constitutions. The consequence is that on constitutional issues lawyers are not accustomed to look directly to the national or local character of the problem dealt with. They seek rather a specific grant of legislative power in the case of an act of Congress and a specific prohibition in the case of state legislation. Absent such a grant, the act of Congress falls, though it may deal with the most vital of national problems; absent such a prohibition, the state statute is sustained, though it may involve consequences of peril even to the national life or unity.

This of course reflects the jealousy with which centralized power was regarded when the Constitution was adopted. It is an attitude created by and adapted to the purposes of an individualized, agricultural, and provincial society. It narrows the field of federal legislation even within the scope of those problems which are truly national in character. No graver national problem than slavery has arisen, yet Congress was impotent in the face of an issue threatening national unity and life, not only because of the acute and sectional division of national sentiment, but also because there was no constitutional grant or "peg" upon which national legislation dealing fundamentally with the problem could be hung.

In spite of this initial jealousy, our history evidences a gradual and ever-increasing expansion of national power and a correlative contraction of state authority. To some extent this has been brought

about by force of arms and by constitutional amendment. But to a larger extent it has been achieved through the peaceful process of constitutional interpretation. In this process legislators, lawyers, and judges, in keeping with our constitutional practice, constantly have been forced to find constitutional pegs in order to sustain the legislation. In the field of social and economic policy the principal pegs employed for this purpose have been the provisions of the Constitution which give to Congress the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, and the power to lay taxes and make appropriations. Although the Constitution also authorizes Congress to provide for the general welfare of the United States, this clause is seldom used independently, except as authority for expenditure of federal funds. It has been employed chiefly as a cumulative basis to sustain legislation, the validity of which is placed primarily in some other specific power. The power to provide for the common defense has also been used in times of war to accomplish great expansion of national activity. But the traditional view has been that this expansion is appropriate only in the emergency of actual war or immediate preparation for war.

Although it has been necessary to base the validity of national legislation on some one or more of these constitutional pegs, in determining their applicability to specific problems the question of the national or local nature of the subject matter of the legislation has not been irrelevant. Thus, in those cases holding attempted Congressional regulation of interstate commerce invalid, the opinions are shot through with assertions of the supremacy of the states with reference to "internal trade and affairs," "matters purely local," "purely internal affairs," "an invasion by the federal power of a matter purely local," "local government," etc. It is obvious, therefore, that although the power of Congress technically may not extend to all matters of national consequence, the fundamental considerations which should determine the issue are identical in the cases of a constitutional amendment and an act of Congress, provided some peg can be found which is sufficiently broad to include the latter.

IV

Until very recently there was little hope of achieving national regulation of child labor through any other means than adoption of the proposed Amendment. However, in view of the vast scope of federal legislation adopted since March 4, and undoubtedly to be adopted during the remainder of the present session of Congress, it may be suggested that the time is appropriate for re-enactment of a national child labor law without waiting for adoption of the Amendment. The Supreme Court is now clearly confronted with the issue whether it will allow the old theory of state rights and the narrow construction of constitutional powers which resulted in the child labor decisions, to invalidate this legislation and throw the nation back into the economic chaos which existed on and prior to March 4. If our national government is without power to control production, to place limits upon the scope and methods of unfair competition, and to regulate all phases of industrial and commercial life which fundamentally affect these problems, the only alternative is a continuance of the economic disorder with which we have struggled for four years. If this legislation is valid, there can be no legal objection to a national child labor law. I say this because an effective regulation of production and competition cannot be achieved by ignoring any vital aspect of the problem. Certainly the conditions under which labor is employed constitute an essential element of this problem, since the manufacturer who is free to employ labor on his own terms has an undue advantage over those who are restricted by protective legislation, and through this advantage may upset completely the economic apple-cart.

In considering the suggestion for re-enactment of the Child Labor Law as a phase of the pending legislation for national control of industry, it is to be recalled that the original decision holding the Child Labor Law unconstitutional was rendered by a division of the Supreme Court in the ratio of five to four. Only three judges of that Court remain on the bench at the present time, Justices Vandeventer, McReynolds, and Brandeis. Of these, the former two voted to declare the law invalid. Justice Brandeis concurred with Justice Holmes in the dissenting opinion. There is reason to believe that the

Court as now constituted is more sympathetic to social legislation and has a broader conception of the scope of the commerce clause of the Constitution. It is difficult to believe that such men as Chief Justice Hughes and Justices Roberts, Cardozo, and Stone would deny the validity of the Act. With Justice Brandeis, they could sustain the re-enacted statute. Possibly the question could be raised, and a reversal secured, simply by presenting another case to the Court under the old law. But the chances for sustaining the law would be better if it were presented as an integral part of the general plan of national regulation of industry.

V

The narrow margin in the vote of the Court by which the Act was invalidated indicates grave doubt as to the validity of the bases upon which the majority placed the decision. It is, therefore, appropriate to give some attention to these reasons. The opinion of Justice Day, who spoke for the majority, is a tissue of inconsistencies. In the first place he asserts that the federal power "is one to control the means by which commerce is carried on, which is directly the contrary of the assumed right to forbid commerce from moving and thus destroying it as to particular commodities." This argument might have been valid but for the fact that Congress previously had prohibited the movement of many articles in interstate commerce. These include lottery tickets, impure foods and drugs, women transported for immoral purposes, obscene matter, diseased cattle and persons, and intoxicating liquor, even before prohibition. The cases sustaining these acts presented an obstacle which it was necessary for the learned judge to hurdle. He did so by asserting a supposed distinction between commodities in which interstate transportation was necessary to accomplish harmful results and those in which it merely encouraged the evil. The former he said could be prohibited. Upon examination, the supposed distinction does not hold water. It may be questioned, for instance, whether the transportation of women in interstate commerce is necessary to accomplish the evil intended to be reached by the so-called White Slave Act. The same may be said of lottery tickets, impure food and drugs, intoxicating liquor. There is a suggestion also that in the case of goods produced by child labor

the goods "are of themselves harmless." Apart from the ultimate use which the legislation was intended to prohibit, this is true also of lottery tickets, impure food and drugs, etc.

The basic reason advanced, however, was a supposed distinction between commerce and production. Justice Day stated it as follows: "Over interstate transportation, or its incidents, the regulatory power of Congress is ample, but the *production* of articles intended for interstate commerce is a matter of local regulation." In effect production was held to be a purely local matter, whatever its ultimate relation to interstate commerce or national economic life. This argument is the same as that with which the Supreme Court at first emasculated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in the Sugar Trust Case. The Sugar Trust produced 90 per cent of the sugar refined in the nation. Nearly all of this was intended for interstate shipment. The consequence was that the Trust had a monopoly of the refined sugar production of the nation and of initial distribution. Yet the Court held that this monopoly was not within the terms of the Sherman Act and could not be prohibited by Congress, since it was created as an incident of production and not as an incident of commerce.[3] The monopolistic effect upon interstate commerce was said to be "merely incidental." Even though the goods were intended for and actually shipped in interstate commerce, the power of Congress was held ineffective to reach the monopoly. Had the Court maintained this position, the Sherman Law would have continued to be a dead letter. However, it has since been held that unlawful interference by labor unions with the production of coal intended for interstate commerce constitutes a violation of the Sherman Act and that such unions may be subjected to the penalties provided by the Act.[4] It seems a very fine distinction to say that the interference of unions with the production of coal at the mine is a part of interstate commerce subject to the regulation of Congress, while the employment of children in mines and factories is a part of production but not of commerce. Such a distinction is too thin for placing in jeopardy either the health

[3] *United States* v. *E. C. Knight Co.*, 156 U.S. 1 (1894).

[4] *United Mine Workers* v. *Coronado Coal Co.*, 259 U.S. 344, 66 L. ed. 975, 42 S.Ct. 570 (1922).

and welfare of the nation's children, or the power of the nation to establish general economic order.

The dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes points out the plenary power of Congress over interstate commerce and states that it extends "not merely to articles that the changing opinions of the time condemn as intrinsically harmful, but to others innocent in themselves." If they are accompanied by an evil which interstate transportation *encourages*, whether the evil precedes or follows transportation, it is enough. The opinion of Congress that the transportation encourages the evil is conclusive. Following his accustomed philosophy in relation to legislation affecting matters of social and economic policy, he says that the judgment of Congress is supreme upon questions of policy or morals when they relate to a power admitted to exist, such as the regulation of interstate commerce. "It is not for this Court to pronounce when prohibition is necessary to regulation, if it ever may be necessary—to say that it is applicable as against strong drink but not as against the product of ruined lives."

VI

Following the decision in this case, Congress enacted the second child labor law, the only material change being that it took the form of a tax statute rather than that of a regulation of interstate commerce. An excise tax of ten per cent of annual net profits was imposed upon employers of children working under the conditions prohibited by the first act. The statute was proposed and adopted on the theory that the federal power of taxation was broader than that of regulating commerce. By casting the act in the form of a revenue measure, it was thought federal control might be extended to incidents of production. This theory also had foundation in previous decisions. The leading case was that in which the court sustained the action of Congress in driving state and private issues of currency out of existence. This was done by imposing a prohibitive tax. It was argued that the tax was "so excessive as to indicate a purpose on the part of Congress to destroy the franchise of the bank." The court held that it could not "prescribe to the legislative departments of the government limitations upon the exercise of its acknowledged powers. The power to tax may be exercised oppressively upon per-

sons, but the responsibility of the Legislature is not to the courts, but to the people by whom its members are elected."[5] The court literally applied the maxim, "The power to tax is the power to destroy." But the destruction of state currencies was sustained as essential to the integrity of a national currency. "Congress may restrain, by suitable enactments, the circulation as money of any notes not issued under its own authority. Without this power, indeed, its attempts to secure a sound and uniform currency for the country must be futile." Later similar results were accomplished with reference to impure food and drugs, in the face of identical arguments. A more familiar instance is the employment of the so-called taxing power to establish prohibitive rates of duty upon imports—in fact the whole protective system in this country has its theoretical foundation in the power of Congress to levy prohibitive duties. Nevertheless, in the face of these and other similar decisions, Chief Justice Taft held the federal taxing power inadequate to control the evil of child labor.[6] Like Justice Day, he grounded his decision upon the theory of constitutional limitations, reflecting the necessity for maintaining local self-government. It was the duty of the Court, he said, to "refuse to give effect to legislation designed to promote the highest good" in order to prevent "the serious breach it will make in the ark of our covenant," if it does not clearly fall within the scope of the federal pegs. The method by which he removed the peg of the taxing power from the child labor law was not convincing in the light of previous cases. He admitted that the power of taxation, like that of regulating commerce, had been and might be carried even to prohibitive or destructive effect. But, with fine logic, he said this can be done only when the prohibition or destruction involves "only that incidental restraint and regulation which a tax must inevitably involve." Further, it was contended that the previous acts making prohibitive impositions did not carry on the face of the statute any indication of the destructive purpose, while proof of this purpose appeared in the very terms of the child labor law. Apparently it is constitutional for Congress to prohibit the issuance of bank notes, the production and distribution of impure food and drugs, etc., by excessive taxa-

[5] *Veazie Bank* v. *Fenno*, 8 Wall. (75 U.S.) 533 (1869).

[6] *Bailey* v. *Drexel Furniture Company*, 259 U.S. 20, 66 L. ed. 817, 42 S.Ct. 449 (1922).

tion, provided only it does not say in the statute that such prohibition is intended. It would logically follow that Congress could prohibit child labor by taxation, if there were some way in which the tax statute could be drawn without mentioning child labor and the prohibitive purpose. Stress is placed also upon a supposed distinction between a "tax" and a "penalty," a distinction which hardly withstands examination in view of the fact that the legal tender acts, the prohibitive tariff acts, etc., produce not a penny of revenue for the federal treasury.

It is apparent, therefore, that the child-labor decisions were based upon conceptions of the scope of the commerce clause and the taxing power unduly narrow and irreconcilable with prior decisions of the Court. They were founded upon a distinction between "production" and "commerce" which has been abandoned with reference to the Sherman Act. They entangled the broad powers of taxation and regulation of commerce in all the argumentative possibilities involved in the determination of what is "incidental" and what "fundamental" or "primary." They departed from previous decisions in limiting the scope of the acknowledged powers of Congress.

The explanation lies in the fact that the Court was functioning in one of its most conservative periods when the cases were presented. During these years and several following, it appeared that the working philosophy of the Court might undermine the legal foundation of almost the entire structure of federal social legislation as well as the power of the nation and the state to control the unsocial practices of public utilities and other forms of corporate piracy. Had the Court faced squarely the fundamental issue presented, it would either have reached the contrary conclusion or overruled its prior decisions with reference to food and drugs, lottery tickets, and perhaps even the legal tender cases. It is fortunate for the future of social progress through law that it was content to rest the decisions upon untenable distinctions and glaring inconsistencies. Thereby the way was left open, perhaps for reversal of the child-labor decisions, certainly for refusing to extend their underlying philosophy to the determination of analogous issues.

VII

Mr. Martin also opposed the Amendment because of its scope and on the ground that it is unnecessary. His contention was that governmental regulation should apply, if at all, only to child employment, not to child labor. It may be admitted that there are some forms of child labor, particularly in the home or about the parent's business, which do not call for governmental control. But there are also vicious forms of child labor which may not constitute technical employment. The so-called family agreement (by which the parent contracts the labor of the entire family for a lump sum) is an example. Because the contractual relation of the employer is with the parent rather than the child, it is possible that the child would not be technically an employee, though he would be a laborer subject to all the evils of employment. However this may be, the true answer is that parents and guardians should be privileged to abuse the child no more than employers. The power of Congress should be plenary in the protection of the health, education, and morals of the child, not only as against harmful employment but also harmful labor. Given such power, the Congress may be intrusted to exercise it wisely; and if the contrary occurs, the people have their remedy in the ballot.

The contention that the Amendment is unnecessary is based upon the fact that all the states have some kind of child legislation. The consequence, according to Mr. Martin, is that the problem of regulating child labor "once real, has become a mere phantom." Although much has been accomplished by state legislation, the achievements are not so complete as he would suppose. Over two million children between ten and seventeen were gainfully employed in 1930. State legislation in many instances is wholly inadequate and state enforcement is notoriously lax. The Pennsylvania children's strike is too recent to require detailed demonstration of these facts. In nearly all states the maximum age limit of control for all except the most hazardous work is fourteen. Generally also the conditions upon which children are permitted to work are based upon outmoded social conceptions. For instance the usual provision is for an eight-hour day, a provision drawn when the normal adult working day

was ten or twelve hours. At a time when economic necessity forces serious consideration of the six-hour day as the maximum for adults, an eight-hour day for children can hardly be called social legislation. There is also great variety in the protection afforded with reference to hazardous occupations, safety provisions, wages, and compensation for children injured while illegally employed. One of the worst results of state regulation has been to throw upon the child rather than the employer the risk and loss incident to such injury in a number of the states. In this respect the employer is in better position than he would occupy in the absence of child-labor legislation.

In the lack of uniformity lies the greatest weakness of state regulation. Employers in each state compete with employers in other states. Labor and other production costs must be relatively equal to maintain the competition. The employer in the state with low standards of labor has a great advantage over the employer who must operate under high requirements. This applies not only to child labor but to all other items which affect the cost of production, minimum wages, hours of labor, safety requirements, etc. The consequence is that no state can long maintain high standards in these matters, if important competing states do not do likewise. This was forcefully illustrated in the statement of Governor Ely of Massachusetts last fall that if the southern states did not raise standards of labor for women and children, Massachusetts might have to reduce its standards. This weakness is inherent in the system of state control. It is simply another instance of the now too common practice of state competition for business regardless of the general public interest. Reno divorces, Delaware corporations, and southern standards of social legislation all demonstrate the power of a single state or group of states not only to prevent social progress within their own borders, but also to retard it in other states. In the face of such a power, the argument that production is a purely local matter is absurd. It is extremely doubtful whether any system of state regulation can give us an adequate regulation of child labor or other forms of social legislation, either in standards or in enforcement.

VIII

But the fundamental issue remains, an issue broader than that of child employment, child labor, or child welfare. I have said that when the Constitution was framed, the nation was an agricultural and provincial community. Society was organized upon the individual as the political and economic unit. Only six manufacturing corporations were in existence. The cotton gin had not been invented. Textile machinery had not been introduced in this country. It was the age of hand labor, the small shop, master and apprentice, the small farm, save in the South. The individual as the primary economic unit has been displaced by and swallowed up in the corporation. Gigantic companies now control aggregates of wealth greater than that of the nation in 1789. Corporate organization characterizes not only business, but also social, religious, and philanthropic life. The national social and economic progress has been from individualism to institutionalism; from sectionalism to national unity; from provincialism to national and international points of view. The extension of federal power to which reference has been made is merely a reflection of this underlying social and economic process.

Throughout this process two schools of thought have struggled for supremacy in a contest which has not been determined finally—the strict constructionists contending for state rights and the liberal interpreters advocating large federal power. In various forms the issue has appeared, and variously it has been determined. In Jackson's day, the bank; a little later, slavery; still later, the trust. In our day the issue takes the form of economic control. It is apparent now that only the national government has the strength to create order from the existing chaos. The states have proved unequal to the task. It has become clear that ordered commerce cannot exist in the midst of chaotic production; that no essential phase of production, whether capital investment, hours of labor whether of children or adults, wages paid, or quantity produced, is without significance either for interstate commerce or for national economic existence. The stability not only of economic and social but of political and legal institutions depends upon effective control of the pirates of industry

and finance who have brought the country to the point of "dying by inches," whether they be ten per cent or thirty per cent of the industrial leadership. The present administration recognizes these facts. Its legislative program is designed to achieve the necessary control, or as much as is constitutionally possible. It reaches, however, to the roots of the productive process. President Roosevelt says that these measures are "wholly within purposes for which our American constitutional government was established 150 years ago." Congress agrees. Now, too, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States falls in line.

But the final word lies with the Supreme Court. It remains to be seen whether it will approve or invalidate the measures now being taken or necessary to be taken in the future to restore economic life and social existence. If it applies the philosophy of the child-labor cases, of the sugar-trust case, if it so limits the national power that it cannot reach the incidents and scope of production, that it cannot touch capitalization, that it cannot stabilize industry, then the power to regulate commerce and to levy taxes will become, in the phrase of Mr. Martin, "a mere phantom." There is not time to wait for the slow process of constitutional amendment. Nor should it be necessary. Those who framed the Constitution did not whittle down the powers conferred upon the federal government with narrow restrictions and technical refinements. They were conferred in the broadest terms. It is only necessary that the Court repudiate its narrow interpretations of the commerce and taxing powers in the child-labor and sugar-trust decisions, and return to the broader view previously prevailing. It must finally abrogate the so-called distinction between "production" and "commerce," in so far as production affects materially the economic security of the nation.

If these pegs be thought insufficient, it may be suggested that the time has come to give full force to another provision which has not been accorded its appropriate place in our constitutional law. In the clause which gives Congress power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense of the United States, power is also conferred to provide for the common welfare. I have said that this clause has been used cumulatively. But in the language of the Constitution it is not cumula-

tive, dependent, or incidental to some other power. It is as independent as the power to provide for the common defense or that of taxation. This has been recognized both in legislation and in judicial decision. Such important federal services as the Bureau of Education, the Children's Bureau, and much of the activity of the Department of Agriculture have found constitutional authority in the general welfare clause. But it was not intended merely as a spending power or as a cumulative basis for legislation which might be sustained by some other peg. In it, if the Court is so inclined, may be found the necessary authority to sustain any measure which is essential to national security, in peace or in war. It offers opportunity for direct attack upon the dangers which may threaten national existence; for escape from what is after all the farce of creating national currency under the guise of taxing state currency, of regulating the production of food, drink, and drugs under the pretense of merely regulating interstate commerce.

However this may be, it is to be hoped that the Court will refuse to extend the application of the basic principle of the child-labor cases. There is cause for some concern in the decision of the so-called Oklahoma Ice Case,[7] but the Court was dealing there with state legislation, not with an act of Congress; with a relatively unimportant industry of local scope, not with an essential industry of national concern. There is reason to believe a broader attitude will be taken toward the federal legislation. This is no time for another Dred Scott decision.

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[7] *New State Ice Co.* v. *Liebmann*, 258 U.S. 262 (1932).

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS IN MILWAUKEE[1]

IT IS not so many years ago that the public agency was regarded as the stepchild of the social work field. To be affiliated with a public agency was not considered the best form. It was a place where one looked for politicians rather than social workers. This attitude is perhaps what underlies a statement, which appears in the report of the Committee on Relations with Public Departments of the American Associations for Organizing Family Social Work, submitted in 1925, outlining a possible division between public and private agencies. The first clause in the Committee's report states that both are needed, *for the public agency alone is unstable and inclined to deteriorate.* No doubt eight years ago this was typical of the attitude of the social worker in the private agency and undoubtedly justified by the character of work done by the public agency.

Within three short years this relationship has been radically altered. The public agency seems to be in almost complete possession of the field, with the private agencies hovering in the background.

When the report of the Milford Conference was published in 1929, its conclusions as to the desirable relationship between the two kinds of agencies were based largely on theoretic grounds. With the oncoming of the depression it has been necessary for each community to work out this relationship on a basis of fact and experience, with perhaps very little regard to the suggested relationship or basis of division of the work, as outlined in the peaceful days preceding 1929.

[1] Paper read at Conference of National Association of Travelers Aid Societies June 12, 1933, at Detroit, Michigan. The situation in Milwaukee has, however, been changed since this paper went to press. As a result of the rules and regulations of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the relationships between the Milwaukee Department of Out-Door Relief and the private agencies are now in the process of being terminated. The F.E.R.A. requires that no federal relief be dispensed by other than the public agency and where private agency workers are co-operating with a public agency, they must be under the complete control and direction of the agency. As a result of this situation, the representatives of the Milwaukee Out-Door Relief Department will therefore visit all families hitherto visited by private agency workers.

While in no sense typical, it may be wise to follow the line of development taken in Milwaukee County.

Milwaukee has been fortunate in that since the beginning of the depression it has not been necessary to set up any emergency relief organization, either under public or private auspices, to furnish relief for the unemployed. There was, therefore, nothing of the attendant hysteria to which so many communities have been subjected, no exploitation of the misery of the unemployed, no repeated fears that all relief would be discontinued on a certain day, as has actually been the case in some cities. It has not been necessary to scrap one temporary relief organization to make way for another. There has been, in short, a complete absence of the chaotic and hasty attempt at meeting an emergency, which seems to be the more accustomed American way. This was due to the fact that from the very beginning Milwaukee recognized that the unemployed must be provided for; that it was a public responsibility and must be cared for by the tax-supported agency, with such assistance from the private groups as they were in a position to render. The emergency, therefore, was met through the rather simple expedient of the progressive and rapid expansion of the Department of Outdoor Relief, which had existed for many years as a small and inconspicuous organization.

Milwaukee has had an added advantage in that all groups, whether public or private, have regarded themselves as parts of an all-embracing program. From the very beginning each part was willing and anxious to do its share to achieve that unification and integration of forces which is essential in the efficient handling of so large a scale community problem as unemployment relief. The Central Council of Social Agencies had aided materially in this development by bringing together representatives of all agencies for the discussion of problems as they arose and in order to aid agencies to understand each other's policies.

Let us trace briefly the story of this development before attempting to define what the theoretic relationship ought to be.

At the beginning of the depression in January, 1930, the Outdoor Relief Department was still a very small organization with a case load under one thousand families a month, and a staff of less than a

dozen. At its peak in April, 1933, the case load amounted to 38,000 with a staff of over 300 visitors and investigators, aside from several hundred clerical employees. At the beginning of the depression its activities were confined mainly to the distribution of groceries. Gradually its program was expanded to a point where at the present time the Department has perhaps as well rounded a program of relief as any in the country. It supplies its families with provisions through a central commissary with a dozen branch stations throughout the county. Milk is granted on a basis of one quart of milk per day for children up to two years of age, three-fourths of a quart up to twelve years of age, and a pint a day for adults. The Department pays gas and electric bills of such families as have no cash income and pays them regularly. It also supplies coal throughout those months when fuel is necessary; shoes on the basis of one pair in three months.

Rents are paid regularly for more than one-half of its case load. Originally it followed the policy still existing in some states of paying when necessary to avoid eviction, in cases of illness, etc. This policy was very early given up because of its evident injustice, both to families and to landlords. The 1933 budget contained an item of $3,600,000 for rent. The monthly rent payments actually amount to approximately one quarter of a million dollars.

There is no doubt that the influence of the standards of the private agency, non-sectarian and Jewish, helped materially in the broadening of the relief standards of the Outdoor Relief Department. The broad vision and the keen understanding of social problems of the manager of Milwaukee County's institutions was also a material factor in this development.

The basic form of relief granted by the Department is food. The kind of food to grant has received the major attention of the organization. Many of the social workers, as well as lay people, were at first skeptical of the quality as well as the quantity and variety of the foods issued. This was not surprising, as the popular and extravagant ideas of food were based in the past years on anti-fat diets, with a large supply of fresh fruits and vegetables. People generally were averse to accepting the fact that the foods issued by the Department could be considered a good and adequate diet. A committee

representing the dietitians of the various hospitals, some of the leading pediatricians and heads of the economics departments of the public schools and the local colleges, set to work to study the food value of these dietaries. It was found to be adequate to maintain a proper health standard and that the food issued by the Department need not be supplemented by other relief agencies. The Children's Hospital found that only in case of illness would it be necessary to supplement the food issued by the Department. At first the obstetricians considered the diet insufficient in ash constituents for pregnant women and nursing mothers. They were, however, willing to accept it as a basic diet, adding only the foods that seemed imperative in individual cases. After the Department added a fresh vegetable and more tomato juice to the original dietary, the need for supplementing gradually decreased.

In order to make the committee's analysis more generally available and usable the caloric—protein, calcium, phosphorus, iron, and vitamin—tables were sent to all the dispensaries, to the health centers, and the County Medical Association, and to such private physicians as wished for them. To make the foods more acceptable to the families of the unemployed, the committee decided to issue some recipes and menus. The Department of Outdoor Relief issued a cookbook, listing a variety of menus which could be prepared on the basis of its issuance, which were printed in a number of languages and distributed to all families. The issuance of these menus and recipes has proven an appreciable help to the housewife. They give a number of ways for using the same materials, taking into account a variety of tastes and food habits, both individual and national. The menus and some of the recipes were published on the women's page of one of the leading daily newspapers. The Milwaukee Vocational School, which has an enrolment of about 7,000 young men and women, many of them who come from homes of families receiving outdoor relief assistance, has made a study of these recipes and their preparation a part of the school curriculum. In March, 1933, the Milwaukee Vocational School published an elaborate volume entitled *Low Cost Meals*. This study was based entirely on foods issued by the Department. It contains elaborate charts showing exactly how the supplies provided by the Department can be made to last

for the two-week period, and a list of the actual menus for every meal for each day of this two-week period. The committee also succeeded in enlisting the aid of the various public utilities, the electric and gas companies, as well as the night school and social centers, to give demonstrations to housewives as to the proper method of preparing a menu.

One outstanding development of this policy has been the maintenance of the health of families dependent upon the county. The County Dispensary and other dispensaries, school principals and teachers, all comment on the fact that the health of their children is good and in many cases better than in previous years. This is not to be taken as a defense of bigger and better depressions. It is indeed a sad commentary on our chaotic and planless social system, that during this depression some children have had more food and better food than when their parents were presumably self-supporting. Let us hope that out of the "New Deal" now in the planning stage at Washington will come a real attack on the conditions which make possible low wages, poverty, and a recurrence of widespread unemployment. A nation which does not enable the men who toil in its factories, mills, and mines to provide for their necessities and for the proper maintenance of their families hardly deserves to continue.

Influenced by methods and practices of the private agencies, the Department early recognized the need for having applicants for aid visited in their own homes, so that they could have the privacy to which they are entitled in describing their affairs and their needs. This was not possible in the early stages of the depression when hundreds of people were forced to stand in line to be interviewed, with every one around an unwilling participant. With thousands of new families added to the relief list monthly, it was all one could do to add enough people to the staff to do the required clerical work incident to the taking of applications and the recording of relief granted.

A year ago a beginning was made in a few districts of the county to replace this unsatisfactory relationship by the home-visiting plan. Beginning with February, 1933, this process was resumed and now the entire case load of the Department, numbering roughly 35,000, will be on the home-visiting plan. Each visitor has a case load of

approximately 140 cases, who are visited twice a month. All the problems and needs of the family are discussed in the home. It is of extreme significance that while this change in plan was being effected over 3,000 families voluntarily terminated their contact with the agency. Examination of some of these cases reveals that in a high percentage there was income sufficient to maintain the family. Apparently these 3,000 families representing a cost of $78,000 a month felt that a home visit would reveal that they were ineligible for aid, something which could not be determined by mere questioning at the various relief stations to which the families had been coming regularly for their aid previously.

An interesting phase of the relationship between the public and private agencies, which has gradually developed, is the part which the private agencies play in the home-visiting plan of the Department. The Family Welfare Association very generously volunteered the help of its staff in the visiting of such families as it was in contact with, so as to aid the Department inaugurate the visiting plan. To all intents and purposes the Family Welfare workers are an inherent part of the staff of the D.O.R., although not paid by the county. They visit families in the same manner that the D.O.R. workers do and requisition all relief which their families need, in exactly the same way that the D.O.R. staff workers do; all such aid being requisitioned from the county and supplied to their clients in exactly the same way as to families visited by the D.O.R. workers. This arrangement has some disadvantages, no doubt. This will be touched on later, but it has been of great assistance to the Department to have this additional trained and experienced personnel available for its use.

As long as the private agencies were in a position to do so, it was also the practice of the D.O.R. workers to requisition from them such aid as was not supplied by the D.O.R., namely furniture, shoe repairs, clothing, household furnishings, etc.

Gradually a definite plan was developed to determine the basis on which families under the care of the D.O.R. might be transferred to the Family Welfare and other private agencies (relief being continued by D.O.R.), and which cases under the care of the Family Welfare Association could logically be transferred to the D.O.R. The manner

in which these transfers were made is suggestive of a possible basis for a division of work between the public and private agencies. This basis is shown in Table I.

It will be noted that the determination as to which agency is to assume responsibility is not on the basis of problem, but on the nature of the problem, and to that extent differs somewhat from the suggested division proposed by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. The two agencies have found this formulation helpful, although no attempt has been made to apply it arbitrarily.

In the fall of 1931 the Family Welfare Association suggested the organization of a committee on relationship between relief-giving agencies, to be organized by the Central Council of Social Agencies. The purpose of this committee was stated by the secretary of the Central Council to be:

> To consider the best use of the facilities of all the relief giving agencies for supplying relief and service to the needy in Milwaukee County; to discuss possible readjustments and extensions in the programs of these agencies which would eliminate any duplications and allow for extending services over a wider area of need; to plan for meeting jointly new types of relief needs as they arise and to consider the special need of new classes of applicants who are coming to family agencies as the effect of the depression reaches constantly wider circles.

All the major private and public relief-giving agencies selected representatives for this committee; a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Council was chosen chairman and the secretary of the Social Service Exchange of the Central Council as secretary.

During the winter of 1931–32 this committee met practically every week for the consideration of the many difficult problems of relationship and relief practices and aided materially in the development of a spirit of co-operation between the agencies. This was the time when the Department of Outdoor Relief policies were being radically transformed. In view of the fact that practically all the relief-giving was administered by the Department, it would have been impossible for the private agencies to continue to do their work satisfactorily, without these frequent conferences which enabled them not only to be aware of these changes, but also provided an

opportunity to participate in their consideration and formulation. Difficulties of administration were constantly cropping up, but the attempt at mutual understanding and appreciation of difficulties facing the various agencies made it possible for all agencies to work together harmoniously. Mention might be made of a number of problems which, while apparently not fundamental in their importance, required consideration to prevent the development of difficulties; for example, the problem of how to meet school supplies for children attending the city schools. Through conferences with the school authorities, needed adjustments were made. The question of the adequacy of the county diet was given attention and the necessary modifications were thereupon decided. A study of tuberculosis pensions was made, and suggestions regarding special diets for such families were submitted to the manager of county institutions. Methods of inter-agency referral were developed and adopted.

As a result of these weekly meetings, it became evident that the agencies were not sufficiently familiar with the type of service which each organization was in a position to render. To help meet this need, a subcommittee on intake was appointed, which, after inquiry and study, prepared a comprehensive statement of the intake policies of each of the twelve co-operating relief agencies, so that each one is aware of the type of case which can be accepted by the other agencies. As policies change, revisions of the agency's intake policy are made and such information sent to the co-operating organizations. In this manner duplication of effort is largely prevented.

An example of the possibility of intelligent co-operation should be noted in the field of clothing. The public department supplied no clothing with the exception of shoes. The funds of the private agencies made it impossible for them to meet this need for D.O.R. families. The Central Council appointed a committee to study the possibility of establishing a central clothing depot. It was able to determine the clothing needs of relief families, and although it came to the conclusion that a central clothing depot was not feasible, its findings were a great help to the American Red Cross in submitting estimates of the clothing needs of Milwaukee to the national organization. In time not only cotton, but finished clothing in large quantities, was received by the American Red Cross. Through the

TABLE I

SUGGESTIONS AS TO CASES WHICH MIGHT BE TRANSFERRED FROM D.O.R. TO F.W.A.

(Relief continuing from D.O.R.)

In general, F.W.A. as a private agency believes it can be of most service to those families who recognize at least in some small way their problems and seek help in solving them, and to those who would seem capable of responding to treatment.

F.W.A. Will Not Accept:	Problem	F.W.A. Will Accept:
Cases where the client is accepting and adjusting to the unemployment situation and the relief offered.	Unemployment	Cases where there is excessive worry, tension, discouragement, dependence over unemployment, or where help is needed in adjusting to a lower standard of living.
Cases in which the problems are of long standing and there seems little possibility of change except through court action. Cases in which there has been little effort on the part of either husband or wife to change the situation or their own attitudes, although there may be constant bickering and accusations	Domestic difficulties and desertions	Cases which are not of long standing in which husband or wife recognizes a need for advice and help which cannot be met through financial assistance alone.
Cases where the family seems unwilling to change and desires only financial help. Cases of severe misconduct where immediate court referral seems indicated.	Questionable social conduct (immorality, begging, stealing, bootlegging, alcoholism)	Families where this behavior has not become established and where there are family strengths on which to build new habits.
Cases needing referral to court or to a placement agency.	Behavior problems of children or adolescents	Cases where the problem can be worked out in the home.
Cases where the slackness is habitual and this way of living is acceptable to the family.	Poor home making (Dirty house, poor training of children, etc.)	Cases where the home-maker is intelligent and desirous enough to use assistance offered.

TABLE I—*Continued*

F.W.A. Will Not Accept:	Problem	F.W.A. Will Accept:
Cases where placement seems the obvious necessity.	Motherless families and other broken family groups	Cases in which the man desires some help in preserving and managing his home and in which there are forces within the family to make this possible.
Cases where the client will not accept the necessity of a lower standard of living and uses the plea of budget difficulties as a step to more relief.	Budget difficulties	Cases drawing a small amount of relief, having some income but genuinely desiring help in planning their expenditures.
Cases which could be cared for by referral to a nursing or medical agency.	Health problems (Physical)	Cases in which there are medical problems with social implications which could not be cared for through medical and nursing services alone. Cases in which there seems a major health problem seriously complicated by the client's attitude toward medical care. Special diet cases where the client needs teaching service in carrying out the diet.
Cases of long-standing mental disease in families of adults.	Health problems (Mental)	Cases where there are apparently family complications from diagnosed or suspected mental disease, especially those in families where there are children or adolescents.
Cases in which the problem can be met only through relief, institutional or outdoor, or with the help of relatives.	Old age	Only exceptional cases where client with resources needs short time help in planning.
	Miscellaneous (Cases needing short-time, concrete services which would be difficult for D.O.R. to do, such as helping a family which may have been temporarily separated and needs help in reuniting)	These would have to be taken up individually.

help of volunteer organizations and the manager of county institutions, who made available a sum of money to help cut and manufacture finished garments from this cotton, the clothing needs of approximately 18,000 D.O.R. and several thousand private agency families were supplied by the Red Cross, but only on requisition of the Outdoor Relief Department and the private agencies. In short, the job of supplying families with clothing was handled in the same co-operative spirit as were all other needs.

The establishment of the Municipal Social Center for the Unemployed might also be cited. This project was suggested by the Central Council of Social Agencies, because of the need of some center where the unattached single men, whether resident or transient, might gather, other than the lobby of the city hall and other public places, which had no accommodation for them. The Central Council enlisted the interest and aid of the various settlements and the public-school officials. After weeks of persistent effort, the Council succeeded in securing the co-operation of the city government and the board of education in the establishment and administration of a social center. It became a unit of the public-school centers, which supplied trained recreation workers to man it. Three floors of a vacant factory building were cleaned and properly set in order by the city government, while the school extension division with the help of donations from private individuals equipped the floors with tables for cards, checkers, and such games; with billiard and pool tables; with volley ball and basket ball and shuffle-board space; with pianos and victrolas and radios; with newspapers and magazines; with a long work bench with tools; with a shoe cobbler's equipment; and with equipment for mending and pressing clothing. Hats and overcoats are checked upon the man's entrance to an orderly, cheerful clubhouse atmosphere. Before this social center was opened on Washington's birthday, 1932, the single unemployed men of the downtown district had no place in which to spend their leisure time except the corridors of the city hall and so-called soft-drink establishments. Gloom and despair were written on every face. In the friendly fellowship of the social center the marks of gloom fade away and a more hopeful outlook does wonders in the stabilization of

courage and general morale. The place of this work is strongly presented by the following figures:

The report of the director of the municipal center states that for the period from March through August, 1932, the total number of visits to the center was 483,998, an average of 2,630 visits a day. A description of this center in a recent issue of the *Survey* points out that there was evident here "no uplift, no registration, no questions, no burdensome discipline, yet no members of the best clubs in Wisconsin could take more pride in their quarters than did these in their warehouse. They walk 15 to 20 feet to drop a burnt match in the receptacle. Through the dark and flophouse district the word went out that the clubhouse was okay and the Director a 'right guy.' It 'doesn't take the place of a job' as a young shipping clerk remarked, but it does 'take your mind off your troubles.' "

Another field generally presenting rather troublesome problems and difficult to meet adequately, namely, the treatment of transient and single men, again illustrates the importance of a proper relationship between public and private agencies.

In the winter of 1929–30, Milwaukee was unprepared for the sudden influx of unemployed single men. The facilities of the rescue missions were not sufficient to meet the demands. A group of well-intentioned citizens organized a soup kitchen and importuned merchants and others to supply the food necessary to feed the daily breadline. A vacant armory was given to the Committee for this purpose. The newspapers were exceedingly friendly and played up the activities of this group daily. The municipal government unofficially manifested a benevolent attitude. No questions were asked of those applying for a handout. Naturally the breadline attracted many non-residents. It was the consensus of opinion of the social workers that a large number of those applying for aid were probably members of families already aided by relief agencies or were attracted to the city as a result of the publicity. In the fall of 1930 the Central Council decided that steps ought to be taken to prevent a recurrence of the breadline. As a step in that direction, the Rescue Mission was admitted to the Community Fund, so that there would be a better relationship between this shelter for the homeless

and the relief agencies. A committee on the homeless was established, consisting of a number of the leading citizens in the community, as well as representatives of all public and private relief-giving agencies affiliated with the Central Council. Subcommittees on homeless men and homeless women and non-resident children and families were established. Twenty-two agencies agreed to co-operate with the program, which was being developed by the General Committee. In November, 1930, the Travelers Aid Society was reorganized and expanded in the capacity of the Transient Service Bureau which was set up by this Committee. It was to function as the executive agency for this Committee. Quarters for the Transient Service Bureau were set aside in a city-owned building. The Community Fund agreed to finance the operation of the Bureau and the Travelers Aid Society lent one of its experienced workers to be the executive of the Transient Service Bureau. The staff was largely manned by volunteers at first.

All agencies, as well as the police, referred applications for aid on the part of single men, whether resident or transient, to this Bureau. One of the interesting discoveries was that the vast majority of all applicants were residents, almost 30 per cent being known to the Social Service Exchange. Every applicant was given careful consideration and referred to such agencies as were in a position to deal with the applicant. All transients were taken care of by the Travelers Aid Society, in accordance with its usual policies. As a result of this centralization of effort, sleeping in police stations or the jail automatically ceased. The public was not importuned daily with harrowing tales of the suffering and starving homeless. Their needs were met without undue fuss or hysteria.

In the fall of 1931 the Central Council of Social Agencies suggested to the County Board of Supervisors, which was then being subjected to considerable pressure to extend its program of relief to include the homeless and transients, that it be allowed to continue the investigation of all single persons. The Transient Service Bureau, in accordance with the plan developed the year previous, would continue the original contacts with all single persons and relief would be supplied by the D.O.R. This offer was accepted and the Transient Service Bureau staff was increased to the number of thirty and pro-

vided with a budget of $45,000 by the Community Fund. The Bureau originally provided temporary care pending investigation and the determination of a plan. In the fall of 1932, as a result of the dwindling of funds of the Community Chest, this was discontinued and temporary aid was provided by the D.O.R. A similar arrangement was made with the Red Cross for ex-service men, the Jewish Social Service Association for Jewish cases, and the Urban League for colored applicants.

Once a plan of treatment was decided and residence had been established, all relief was provided by the D.O.R. This might take the form either of supplying provisions and the paying of room rent for those able to do their own housekeeping, or meals and hotel room for those not able to prepare their own meals.

As a result ot this co-operative effort, Milwaukee County has a well-developed program for meeting the needs of single men and women. All residents are given the same consideration that families receive. Those who have no residence but have established residence in the state are taken care of in a shelter, which hitherto was supported by the Salvation Army and one of the daily newspapers, but which on June 1 was taken over by the Outdoor Relief Department. The investigations and the intake control is in the hands of the Transient Service Bureau. Non-residents are cared for in the Rescue Mission, a well-managed institution, with the Bureau also in control of the intake. Case work with transients is carried on by the Travelers Aid Society. In short, the care of the single person has been placed on a permanent and sensible basis. No new shelters have been erected. No new agencies have been called into being. The police department and the various public departments work in harmony with the agencies. This program has demonstrated that organization rather than relief needed to be emphasized, for each agency was enabled to contribute to the solution of a problem what it could do best.

A most recent example of the ever present need for teamwork between the various social agencies in a community is the plan agreed upon by the American Red Cross, Veterans Administration, Veterans Service Exchange, the American Legion, and the Department of Outdoor Relief made necessary by the impending discharge

of veterans from the National Home due to the adoption of the National Economy Bill.

It was decided that the Veterans Administration would send the men slated for discharge to the agency designated before the date of discharge and, if necessary, to hold them until the agency is able to work out a suitable plan for the veteran.

The American Red Cross agreed to accept responsibility for all resident veterans, whether family or single men. It will make the necessary registration and investigations and furnish full information to the Department of Outdoor Relief for cases referred for relief.

The Veterans Service Exchange agreed to care for the transient veterans and those who have not been in the Home long enough to gain legal settlement, in a manner similar to that agreed upon by the American Red Cross. In the case of veterans without legal settlement in Milwaukee County, it was to establish settlement and secure permission for return. The American Legion agreed to aid the Veterans Service Exchange financially to the extent of providing temporary care and shelter for those who may be discharged from the Home before the necessary information has been established or completed.

The Department of Outdoor Relief agreed to accept the recommendations and investigations of the agencies for resident cases and grant relief in accordance with the policies of the Department. On non-resident cases the Department agreed, if necessary, to furnish transportation to the place of legal settlement on receipt of authority to return the veteran.

These arrangements between the public and private agencies, especially in the field of single persons, have been subjected to some criticism from members of the County Board of Supervisors, who have felt that the D.O.R. ought to have complete charge of this phase of the work also. These efforts, however, met with little support. There was an apparent recognition that the problem was being satisfactorily handled and, therefore, might best be left alone.

It is worth noting that as a result of the assumption of responsibility for investigations and the determining of eligibility by the Transient Service Bureau, the D.O.R. has not only been relieved of the necessity of adding thirty workers to its staff, but definite good

has been accomplished in other directions. When the sudden influx of single applicants first made itself felt, the D.O.R. was manned with but a very small staff of workers, who could do nothing to determine the need of applicants except through a cursory and hurried interview at the office. To have accepted single applicants on this basis would have been disastrous. The D.O.R. would have been swamped with applications of presumably unattached people; sons and daughters would have left their homes to be taken care of independently; parents would have left the homes of their married children to be on their own; transients would have flocked to the city in large numbers. The Transient Service Bureau, manned with a group of trained and discriminating workers, was able to stem the tide in a large measure. Although there is considerable evidence that families have nevertheless attempted to shift responsibility for the care of single relatives to the county, the situation was kept within bounds. This would have not been possible if the public agency had assumed the primary responsibility.

To deal satisfactorily with the single man or woman is by no means a simple task. As the director of the Transient Service Bureau has said, the single men have nothing but time on their hands and no means of spending it. Determining residence is often a most difficult task. To develop a plan which has the client's own co-operation is a delicate operation. More than in any other branch of social work, the single applicant requires understanding, sympathy, and discrimination. With the development of the visiting system of the D.O.R., single men and women are now included along with families, after they have been accepted for aid by the Transient Service Bureau or the Red Cross.

In accordance with the suggested division of work between public and private agencies, as submitted by Dr. Carstens at the 1915 Conference, that when a private organization has clearly demonstrated the value of an experiment, it is in the community's interest that such a service, "in order that it may have a wider application or be rendered in a larger area, be extended to the state as soon as it is in a position to equip itself for such service," it might be argued that the Transient Service Bureau, having demonstrated the feasibility of working with single men through a corps of trained workers, might

now transfer work with single men to the D.O.R. It is, of course, possible that this may be necessary should the Community Chest be unable in the coming fall to make the same generous contribution to the Transient Service Bureau which it did a year ago. It would seem wiser, however, not to disturb the present arrangement until the case load of the D.O.R. is considerably decreased and work opportunities for single men have opened up on a much larger scale than is yet the case.

In the development of the relationship between the two sets of agencies, some difficulties naturally have arisen, although they have in no way affected the attitude of the workers. Because of the pressure of work, decisions often had to be made by the public agency which the workers of the private agencies had perforce to accept and carry out. To my knowledge, there has been no question raised by the private agencies of the wisdom of the many changes of decision and in policy, but I often felt that such questions might very well have been raised. This has placed the private agency in the position where it was of necessity forced to follow, rather than to lead or to co-operate, in the formulation of the decisions which it was called upon to carry out.

Although the Family Welfare wisely appointed one of its most capable district secretaries to act as liaison officer between the two organizations, and was able to transmit and interpret changes in policies to the F.W.A. staff, there is, of necessity, a lag between the announcement of a policy and its transmission to the F.W.A. and its various districts. Sometimes difference in treatment of clients by the Family Welfare Association and the D.O.R. would result because of this lag.

The interpretation and application of the same policies are bound to differ when relief is administered by two organizations, one staffed with trained and experienced workers and the other with workers who are new in the field. The F.W.A. workers would naturally be more likely to rely upon a policy of persuasion instead of compulsion, which is perhaps more likely to be the attitude of the public worker in dealing with problems such as the surrender of license plates, the insistence of adult working children helping to support their families. Naturally D.O.R. workers often could not take the time to attempt to modify attitudes through case work treatment.

I have often wondered what the feeling of the F.W.A. and other private agency workers was toward the rôle that they were suddenly forced to play as dispensers of public relief. For this involved them in a mass and maze of bookkeeping and record-keeping entirely foreign to their training and their experience. Visitors were forced to carry two kinds of case loads. For one the private agency attitude had to be maintained. For the other, one more nearly resembling that of the public agency. Two kinds of dictation had to be kept, even on the same case. This dualism, it seems to me, must be both confusing and irritating. I know that the private agency workers have worked loyally and earnestly because of the emergency, but I wonder with how much enthusiasm. The work must have been exhausting. Public relief, as developed by the D.O.R. is, in a sense, a tyrannous taskmaster. It does not allow for the more flexible program of the case worker in the private agency. Visits must be made on such and such a date. Landlord agreements must be written as the policies demand. Likewise fuel orders and shoe orders, milk and grocery orders, gas and electric bills must be paid in a very definite way and there can be no deviation from the sacred policies.

Work of this kind does not flow out of the case worker's training or interest. Therein lies the source of a conflict in the worker's mind and her attitude toward her work, with the danger of an ultimate feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration. If this were to follow, it cannot but be harmful to the growth and development of the private agency.

In conclusion, it might be asked "What of the future?" There is no doubt that the public agency is here to stay. In the past the public agency confined its activities largely to institutional care and, in some cities, poorly equipped public welfare departments existed providing an exceedingly limited amount of relief. Those days are over and there probably is no return. During the past few years public agencies everywhere have attracted many trained workers from private agencies with a consequent marked improvement in personnel and standards.

From this it inevitably follows that the public agency will eventually be able to render to its families service as well as relief. The present division, which assigns to the public welfare agency the exclusive rôle of dispensing relief, cannot be maintained. As problems

in families visited by the public agency come to the surface, the intelligent worker is more or less impelled to do something about it. These opportunities exist and challenge the worker to action. Such a challenge cannot be disregarded. Recently the D.O.R., as the result of its enrolment of 2,000 young men in the Conservation Corps Camps, was impressed with the large number of boys who were rejected because of a variety of health problems, such as defective vision, tuberculosis, heart deficiencies, and other conditions. Clearly, here is a wide field that demands service. To disregard these conditions would mean that eventually the community would have to step in with medical aid when the conditions would be much more aggravated and cost a great deal more to correct.

The conclusion arrived at in the report of the Milford Conference, that a social case work agency should do a complete social case work job with its cases and should transfer a case only when the services of another agency are clearly needed, is, to my mind, on the basis of my observations, thoroughly sound. As this report states, "This means that the public agency should do adequately that which it undertakes to do." Case work and relief should not be divorced, otherwise it would be impossible to develop proper standards of work and personnel in the public agency. Surely a competent worker cannot be expected to stay with a public welfare agency if he is limited entirely to relief-giving. The Milford Conference wisely urged the development of relief funds on the part of every social case work agency, on the ground that each agency should be prepared to administer relief in cases under treatment, except where it seems desirable to transfer to another agency not only the responsibility for relief, but also a definite responsibility for at least part of the treatment.

That the private agency is essential to the proper organization of the community's resources seems to me beyond question. It can stimulate the public agency to do a better job. It can help to supply much-needed and trained personnel. Since it possesses freedom of action and flexibility of program and policies which are often denied the public agency, it is able to experiment with new techniques and methods of organization. Just as in the field of public education, there is a definite community benefit resulting from the existence of

private experimental schools. Slowly but inevitably they have influenced the point of view of the public school system, choice of curricula methods of administration, and attainable objectives.

It would not seem desirable, however, for public funds to be used for the support of private agencies, no more than it would appear to be desirable that public funds be used for the support of private schools, no matter how necessary and worth while they are in the educational scheme of things. Private agencies owe their existence because they supply an outlet for the community's desire to be of service to one's fellow-men. They should be maintained on that basis only and so left free to plan and experiment without public interference. This is not possible if the private agency were dependent on public support.

What shall the division between the two forms of agencies be? For the present it would seem to me that the basis developed in Milwaukee may be regarded as a guide. There is no need to arrive at any hard-and-fast, fixed lines of division. Perhaps this will never be possible. Perhaps the choice of the client will, in the final analysis, be a determining factor; at any rate one not to be disregarded. So long as there is an absence of rivalry between the two and a real spirit of co-operation, this problem should not present any difficulties.

This discussion cannot be concluded without an expression of hope that the profession of social work will press steadily onward to the adoption of a well-ordered program of social insurance, which will largely make unnecessary the work which the public agencies were called upon to do during the past four years. An intelligently developed system of unemployment insurance would have provided the major portion of the relief of which the unemployed were in need, without the large-scale adoption of the dole which is found in every city, and without first reducing the unemployed to a state of unquestioned pauperism. If we fail to develop such a system of social insurance, then we shall have failed completely, no matter how perfect our public welfare agencies may be, or how efficient the relationship between agencies.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC POOR-RELIEF

POLITICAL institutions too often bear the marks of an environment that has already passed away. The truth of this observation is perhaps no more fully reflected anywhere than in the devices which in England and the United States control the administration of public poor-relief. As a necessary accompaniment of the Reformation, the relief of the poor passed from the hands of the church into those of the state. Tudor England regarded the problem of poor-relief as belonging essentially to the areas of local government, and British and American statesmen have continued to subscribe to the sixteenth-century notion. The result has been that modern industrial society relieves its unfortunate poor through machinery little altered since the time of Henry VIII.

But profound social changes inevitably react upon political institutions. England since the World War has been confronted with economic conditions unmatched since the fourteenth century. Under the pressure of circumstances the worship of the past has been sung in palinode. Few realistic statesmen can be found who will bend in obeisance before altars from which the fires have gone out. Nor is the renunciation of ancient forms less complete because they deal with matters long regarded as of secondary concern to the state. Amid the complexities of modern life it would be a hardy theorizer who undertakes to describe any political phenomenon as secondary in the concerns of the state. Therefore, the English Local Government Act of 1929, which abolished the existing poor-law authorities and transferred their functions to the county councils, may give new meaning to the problem of the administration of public poor-relief on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Act of 1929 was passed in the dying hours of the Conservative government and embodied the provision that it should become operative on April 1, 1930.[1] It therefore fell to a Labour government to inaugurate the reforms which their political opponents initiated.

[1] The Act, carefully annotated, will be found in A. M. T. Eve and F. A. Martineau, *The Local Government Act 1929* (London, 1930).

The six-hundred-odd boards of guardians which are abolished by the Act functioned for almost a century, since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. But the Act does more than alter the authority for the administration of public poor-relief; it involves nothing less than the passing of the doctrine of laissez faire embodied in the "Principles of 1834." Under the old law the community assumed no responsibility beyond that of keeping the destitute applicant alive. The new legislation embodies the conception of a mutual obligation between the individual and the community.[2] It should be noted, however, that the Act of 1929 is more in the nature of an enabling statute, conferring powers to undertake the new work rather than enacting a policy to be adopted. Much remains to be done, but the responsibility for the formulation of policy must be shared between the national government and the governments of the counties and county boroughs. The mere relief of destitution must be replaced by a policy of preventive and curative treatment.

The post-war pauperism in England could not be met by the old boards of guardians largely because of the smallness of the areas within which they operated. Widespread unemployment created in some poor-law unions conditions which called for treatment beyond either the capacity or the experience of the local authorities to deal. Lack of planning and extravagance soon revealed the need for a larger governmental unit for the administration of public poor-relief.

The new tide of pauperism which in England since the World War carried the boards of guardians to ultimate ruin did not sweep the entire country. In March, 1926, there were only seven distressed areas throughout England. These areas embraced 64 poor-law unions out of a total of about 630 and included London, the South Wales coalfields, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield, Bristol and Newcastle on Tyne. A small area in Barrow in Furness, where the shipbuilding industry had declined, was also affected. In these 64 unions approximately 693,000 persons were receiving relief, while in the rest of England only 323,700 persons were being helped by the relieving authorities. If the problem be viewed in greater perspective, it will be found that between 1914

[2] S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government: English Poor Law History* (London, 1929), II, 985 ff.

and 1926 the increase of destitute persons in the seven distressed areas was 547,000 while in the rest of England the increase was only 90,000. The relief problem was thus confined to relatively few areas where population preponderated and where industrial dislocation since the World War had occasioned pronounced unemployment.

If we separate London from the other distressed areas, we get equally striking results. The 45,600 destitute persons in London had by 1926 increased to a total of 255,000. That is to say, the increase in the number of destitute in London during the period was 209,400, while in all the other distressed areas of England the increase was 337,600. Thus there was little or no increase in destitution in England or Wales, outside of certain distressed areas, and the increase of destitution in London was greater in proportion than the increase in other distressed areas.

The growth of destitution resulted in alarming increases in expenditures for poor-relief. The total cost of poor-relief in England and Wales increased from £15,055,863 in 1914 to £49,774,916 in 1927. During the post-war years the average amount of this expenditure per head of estimated population rose from 9*s.* 10*d.* in 1919 to 25*s.* 5¾*d.* in 1927. Within the London area relief costs mounted from £623,900 in 1921 to the stupendous sum of £13,600,000 in the year ending March 31, 1928. The average amount of expenditure on poor-relief per head of population in the London area stood in 1928 at 39*s.* 10¾*d.*, an increase over the per capita expenditure in 1921 of 30*s.*

Confronted with this unparalleled increase in the costs of poor-relief, the people of England turned to an examination of the ancient machinery whereby they relieved destitution. Although the problem of relief was confined to a few distressed areas, in these places it was so acute that the local boards of guardians were obviously unable to find a solution. It was soon discovered that many of the boards of guardians controlled by socialist majorities were not only making larger expenditures, but were also granting more generous allowances to individual claimants than were being made by boards of guardians controlled by conservative majorities. The spirit of partisanship became injected into the controversy and the administration of public poor-relief was made a major political issue.

The policy of the British socialists has been summed up in the statement that "in one way or another, remunerative employment or honorable maintenance must be found for every willing worker by hand or brain, in bad times as well as good." In other words, the state must guarantee employment or provide maintenance at trade-union wages for its people. They do not say that this maintenance must be provided by the poor-law authorities; most of it would be provided by unemployment insurance. But not all persons out of work are entitled to unemployment insurance. Moreover, the unemployment-insurance fund in England has long been bankrupt, and the state has been obliged to borrow heavily to meet the obligations of the dole. The line of demarcation between an unemployment dole and a grant of outrelief by the poor-law authorities is more nominal than real. Indeed, the policy of the British Labour party tends to assimilate all forms of maintenance to one, the obligation of the state to support all persons who cannot support themselves.

The socialist policy would seem clearly to require generous grants by way of relieving destitution. But it is by no means certain that these generous grants are unnecessary or that another political party would not have been obliged to spend as much in the distressed areas where socialist boards of guardians were in power. Economy is not a monopoly of conservatives in England or any other country.

A number of specific charges were brought against socialist boards of guardians. The first was that boards were so corrupt that they had descended to what in the United States would be called "graft." This charge rests upon the findings in the union of Chester-le-Street, where the people who were given relief were asked "to contribute a bit to the guardians." The second charge was that the poor were touted to come to the polls and vote for socialists on the ground that they would thereby gain increased grants. To this the socialists replied that their grants were not in excess of the necessities. They also said that conservatives lure votes by promising jobs—which they are subsequently unable to provide. It is better, said the socialists, to be honest with the people even though it costs more to the state.

The conservatives lament the ability of persons receiving relief to vote. In 1918 Mr. Lloyd George repealed the pauper disqualification

act at a time when only about 18,000 persons, most of them aged and infirm, were receiving poor-relief in London. In 1926 no less than 167,000 persons, many of them in the prime of life, were receiving poor-relief in London. If the pauper disqualification act were restored today, a very large number of persons—some say one-seventh of the population—would be disfranchised. It could not be done by any political party without producing a revolution.

The third charge was that socialists were using poor-relief and unemployment doles to pay their trade-union dues. The dues in turn support the Labour party. Thus the party in power was being maintained by funds drawn from the rates and taxes. Somehow this charge is not very convincing—or convicting. Party funds in the long run have got to be raised by the people. If small sums are given directly in the form of trade-union dues, they are not likely to exceed the burden ultimately placed on the people by the great business enterprises which contribute lavishly to Conservative party campaign funds.

It would no doubt have been very gratifying to the rate-payers if the tremendous increase in poor-relief expenditures could have been referred to socialist profligacy. A ready solution of the problem would immediately have suggested itself to the dullest mind. But this could not be done; the truth was that a situation existed which no political party had created and for which no Board of Guardians, regardless of its political complexion, could be blamed. Social and economic facts are not the fabrication of political parties; they are the data with which the party has to deal. The causes of the increased destitution were to be sought in variations within the areas affected, and a solution of the problem had to be found by developing administrative machinery adequate to the task of relief.

Signs had not been lacking since the close of the World War that the poor-law union was too small an area within which to collect and disburse poor-relief. If the twenty-five poor-law unions within the London area had been equal in population, per capita wealth, rateable property, and number of destitute persons, the problem could have been solved by the existing poor-law administration. But such has never been the case. The borough of Poplar with a large casual labor population will always contain a greater number of

destitute persons than other boroughs where the laboring element possesses greater stability as to wages and employment. Where wages are low and ignorance prevails, there will be destitution although employment is normal. It could not be expected that the Board of Guardians in Poplar could finance from the rates of their small union the relief of the 22,000 destitute persons on their registers in 1928. Nor could the people of Poplar agree that they should bear the entire burden of caring for the poor who huddled in their slums while Hampstead and other residential boroughs of London escaped heavy taxation because they had little or no destitution to relieve. In 1922 the members of the Poplar Board of Guardians went to jail rather than levy the rates necessary to meet the costs of relief within the union. At that time the crisis was met by giving Poplar a larger share of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. But this was a palliative which destroyed the primary purposes of the common poor fund and made all the more apparent the need for a thorough revision of the administrative structure whereby England afforded relief to the poor.

The Local Government Act of 1929 established the county and the county borough as the units for the collection and disbursement of poor-relief. While it is too early to estimate the actual worth of the changes wrought by this Act, it is apparent that many administrative difficulties have been overcome. England is now for the first time able to rise above mere palliative treatment in the matter of poor-relief and embark upon a program of prevention of poverty.

The repercussions which this law may awaken in the United States will be due largely to the faithfulness with which American legislation upon the subject of public poor-relief has followed English models. The duty of each locality to provide for the relief of its poor crossed the Atlantic with the first settlers and formed the basis of all ameliorative measures in the New England town and the Virginia parish. When Governor Andros arrived in Massachusetts in 1686, he ordered that "selectmen, constables, overseers of the poor, and all other town officers for managing the prudential affairs thereof be continued and elected, and are to act in all town affairs in their several bounds as formerly."[3] But Andros, in his reference to over-

[3] J. F. Sly, *Town Government in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 78–79.

seers of the poor, was describing an institution which had not yet appeared in Massachusetts; it was not until 1691 that a separate body of overseers of the poor was created in Boston. In the same year the charter of town government passed in Massachusetts contained a provision for the selectmen of the various towns to care for the poor.[4]

This legislation marks the culmination of more than a half-century of measures for the administration of public poor-relief in Massachusetts. In 1639 the general court of the colony ordered that "any shire court, or any two magistrates out of court, shall have power, to determine all differences about the lawful settling and providing for, poor persons; and to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families, for the ease of the country."[5] Plymouth in 1642 placed upon each town the obligation to support its poor, and left to the selectmen its discharge.

Despite the provisions made in the towns for the care of the poor, there arose before 1675 a class of "state paupers," or unsettled poor. The existence of this exceptional group of paupers may be attributed to the laws of settlement. A law of settlement is a statutory rule for the determination of jurisdictional responsibility for public expenditures made on account of persons in distress. The laws appeared to be necessary in colonial Massachusetts not only because strangers might become public charges but also because they might hold religious beliefs incompatible with those of the majority in the community. In a pioneer town the means of subsistence was never abundant, and the records show that the privilege of settlement was cautiously and sparingly extended to strangers. As early as 1636 Plymouth resolved that "no person coming from other parts be allowed an inhabitant of this jurisdiction but by the approbation of the governor and two of the magistrates at least."[6] Boston followed with the requirement that "no townsmen shall entertain any strangers into their homes for above fourteen days without leave from those that are appointed to order the town's business."[7] This legisla-

[4] *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, I, 65–68.

[5] R. W. Kelso, *History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1922), p. 44.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 30. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

tion was strengthened in 1639 when Massachusetts through the general court ordered inhabitants should become liable for the support of any strangers admitted into their homes.[8]

The invasion of newcomers could not be withstaid, and in 1701 the length of time necessary to gain a settlement in Massachusetts was extended from three months to one year. In 1766 it was made impossible for a person to gain a settlement by any length of residence. A person desiring to become an inhabitant of any town had to make his wish known to the selectmen and his application must be approved by the town meeting.[9] In order to prevent the settlement of undesirables, it became the practice of town officials to "warn out" all persons who might fall into dependency. Thus there was re-enacted in America the spectacle which had disgraced the administration of public poor-relief in England of driving the unfortunate poor from place to place. If the stranger could establish no legal inhabitancy within a town, he might ultimately find himself forced to leave the colony.

The class of "state paupers," comprising persons who had no legal settlement within any town, attracted the attention of the Massachusetts government in 1767. In that year it was enacted that, whereas persons ordered and conveyed out of town frequently did not belong to any town in the province, and were poor and unable to pay for the removal, whereby the town moving them had the burden; when such was the case, the charge of conveying such person or persons should be borne and paid by the province "in order to their being sent or conveyed to the province or colony where they last had a settlement."[10] The willingness of the state to defray the cost of removing the unsettled poor led the towns to press for further legislation which set up barriers against the acquisition of a settlement. By 1793 the time during which a newcomer must dwell without warning out, in order to become an inhabitant, had been extended to five years. The following year the changes in the legislation resulted in the well-known Law of Settlement of 1794, which established a workable system adequate to meet the needs of the time. The town

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[9] R. H. Whitten, *Public Administration in Massachusetts* (New York, 1898), p. 41.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

remained the unit for the administration of public poor-relief and was obligated to provide for all destitute persons who had gained a settlement, but the cost of removing the unsettled poor devolved upon the state.[11]

In Pennsylvania the problem of providing for the relief of the poor was at the outset placed upon the county. Until 1705 the judges of the court were charged with the administration of public poor-relief. The legislation enacted in 1705 created a special administrative body. The justices of the peace in each county, or any three or more of them, were to meet annually and choose from the substantial inhabitants of the respective townships persons to be overseers of the poor for the ensuing year. The duties of the overseers were to assess and collect a rate, the receipts from which they were to apply to the relief of the poor, and to set on work and bind out poor children.[12] The townships thus became the units for the administration of public poor-relief, although the supervision of the overseers of the poor remained a function of county government.

It was not long before Pennsylvania was confronted with the immigration of large numbers of penniless settlers. By William Penn's invitation, the colony became the asylum for the harassed and depressed of all nations. A settlement law was therefore enacted in 1718 which regarded continued residence and occupation as necessary to establish any person as an inhabitant. The law also provided that every person who received relief should be required to wear on the shoulder of the right sleeve a Roman *P* with the first letter of the county, city, or place of his or her residence underneath. The first almshouse supported by public funds was opened in Philadelphia in 1731, the administration of which was confided to the mayor and

[11] Between 1792 and 1820 the expense incident to the care of state paupers in Massachusetts increased fivefold, although over the same period the population failed to double. In the decade following 1837 the paupers within the state increased nearly 100 per cent, and the towns not only failed to meet the situation but were prone to take advantage of legal loopholes at the expense of the state. This led to centralization and the establishment of the State Board of Charities in 1863 (Massachusetts Board of Charities, *First Annual Report* [1865], pp. 242 ff.).

[12] The early poor-laws of Pennsylvania are described in W. C. Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682–1913*. The report of the Poor Law Commission of 1889 contains a summary of poor-relief legislation in Pennsylvania up to that time.

two aldermen of the city.[13] Institutional relief, with all its attendant evils, was thus begun in this country.

The southern colonies made little or no advance upon the ideals and practices of England in the administration of public poor-relief. Most officers charged with the immediate care of the poor in the South considered the keeping of records of their transactions unimportant. The vestrymen in each parish were charged with the care of the poor. In North Carolina there was practically no change in the method of administering poor funds for more than two hundred years. In colonial days a citizen appeared before the vestrymen and stated that a certain poor person needed aid or stated that he himself had relieved such poor person and asked to be reimbursed from the public funds. Upon such representation relief was given. This was precisely the method that until 1919 was followed by the county commissioners in all the counties of North Carolina.[14]

The movement of population westward carried the institutions of the older settlements into the Mississippi Valley and across the plains. As they crossed the Allegheny Mountains the settlers tended to move along horizontal lines. Into the Old Northwest poured a stream of settlers from New England and northern New York, who pressed forward into Wisconsin and later into Minnesota and the states along the Canadian border. It is not without significance that one finds today among the leaders of the Northwest descendants of families that were prominent in seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Farther south the settlers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia journeyed down the Ohio River and began the cultivation of the corn belt. To the Far South enterprising young men detached themselves from the seaboard plantations and moved up the river valleys. Here they were joined by Huguenot refugees, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and Germans from the Palatinate who moved with them across the mountains and into the fertile lands beyond. Eager to conquer the natural resources of an unexploited continent, the settlers hastily contrived their political institutions according to the models in the respective tidewater communities from which they had come. While the New England emigrants were seeking in the North-

[13] E. Frankel, *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1925), p. 9.

[14] R. G. Brown, *Public Poor Relief in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1929), p. 24.

west to adapt the town to the exigencies of local government, the settlers to the South were similarly experimenting with the county.

Poor-relief was not at first an important problem in the local government areas of the West. Settlers were of sturdy stock; they had left their homes on the Atlantic seaboard to find economic independence on the frontier. The abundance of cheap, fertile soil enabled everyone to gain for himself and his family a competence. Nor would the individualistic spirit of the frontier tolerate any of the vices which in the older sections contributed to destitution. The belief prevailed that if people remained poor it was through their own faults. The aged and infirm poor were cared for by relatives, and orphaned boys and girls were cheerfully adopted or otherwise given homes where their labor in felling the forests or tilling the soil and doing the farm chores was required. Almshouses were for many years unknown in the new states growing up in the West and the little relief that was granted to people in their own homes was almost negligible.[15]

Almost from the outset evils attended the administration of public poor-relief through the units of local government, especially in the eastern states. The situation during the early decades of the nineteenth century was reflected in a report to the general court of Massachusetts in 1821 by Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College, and in a more voluminous report presented to the New York legislature in 1824 by John Van Ness Yates, secretary of state. Both reports were based upon careful investigation, but the Yates report is of greater value because it embodies much information regarding the relief systems of other states.

The Quincy report canvassed the practice and opinions of the local overseers in the administration of the pauper laws of Massachusetts.[16] About 162 towns relieving 4,340 distressed persons supplied the data for the report, although it was estimated that the total number of paupers receiving relief throughout that state was approximately 7,000. Despite the meagerness of the statistical infor-

[15] An account of the early poor-relief legislation in the western states and territories will be found in J. L. Gillin, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914).

[16] The Quincy report is published in *Charities* for September 30, 1899.

mation accompanying the report, it revealed a situation so pernicious that legislative interference was deemed advisable.

The system condemned included not only outdoor relief and institutional care in almshouses but also the auction method whereby the poor were let out to the lowest bidder. In defense of the latter practice, which involved a rather high cost to the taxpayers, it was said by some overseers that "the poor being sometimes boarded with those who are in want themselves, it is not lost to the town." At the same time the report found that relief given in the homes of the destitute tended not only to be expensive but also injured the character of the recipients. Upon the whole, the report regarded the almshouse as the most economical and at the same time the most salutary mode of relief. Since intemperance was found to be the most powerful and universal cause of pauperism it was essential that the dispensation of relief should be accompanied by a measure of oversight. This could be most advantageously provided through the establishment of houses of industry or poor farms. By emphasizing agriculture as a means of employment, the poor could be kept in health and also raise their own provisions. Since that time the most general form of relief throughout New England has been the town poor farm where the paupers raise the means of their own subsistence under the guidance of a superintendent.

The New York report of 1824 canvassed the number of permanent paupers in various states in proportion to the total population. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, where the prevailing form of relief was outdoor relief, showed a higher ratio of pauperism and greater expense than in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, where the poorhouse system had long been established. New York had established almshouses as recently as 1820 and was caring for 1,987 paupers within these institutions at the time of the report. The poor-law authorities were also caring for many paupers through sale at auctions, farming out to contractors, and through the dispensation of relief in habitations. New York at this time occupied a position midway between the states which depended largely on outdoor relief and those which cared for the poor in almshouses, having one permanent pauper to every 220 persons in

the state. But the conclusions reached by the framers of the report were distinctly in favor of the almshouse system. The report recommended the establishment of workhouses by the state, the levy of a tax upon whiskey distilleries to provide a fund for poor-relief, and the requirement that a residence of one year within the state should be necessary to gain a settlement.[17] Good results followed the agitation of which the Quincy and Yates reports are symptomatic, but nowhere was any attempt made to introduce a uniform program for the relief of the poor or to subject the local poor-relief authorities to state supervision.

The state supervision of public charities began with the establishment in 1863 of the Massachusetts Board of Charities. Other states were slow to follow the example of Massachusetts, and it was not until 1873 that ten states had created boards to supervise public welfare work. These early boards were for the most part unpaid lay boards with supervisory powers but with no direct responsibility for the conduct of the institutions of the state. Poor-relief came within their jurisdiction in so far as the unsettled poor persons were concerned, but they were not empowered to interfere with the local poor-law authorities. The Indiana law of 1895 placed upon the Board of State Charities the supervision of public outdoor relief. Overseers of the poor were required to report both to the county commissioners and to the state board all expenditures for the relief of the poor and certain facts relating to persons aided. This act was followed in 1899 by legislation which provided for the appointment by the circuit judge of six persons in each county to act as a board of county charities. These boards, the creation of which became mandatory in each county upon petition of fifteen reputable citizens, had investigative functions and reported quarterly to the county commissioners and annually to the circuit judge. Copies of these reports were to be sent to the newspapers and to the Board of State Charities. Thus was begun the system of "pitiless publicity" upon which Indiana has chiefly relied to secure honest and efficient public welfare administration throughout the state.[18]

[17] For the Yates report see New York State Board of Charities, *Annual Report* (1900), Vol. I.

[18] Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

State supervision developed rapidly after the turn of the century. Public relief came to be regarded as touching the welfare of the entire community and hence the proper subject of reasonable state oversight. Boards which were originally simply advisory in their powers and duties became administrative in character. In Massachusetts the executive powers of the State Board of Charities, which were from the first extensive, were enlarged until the Board became one of the most important departments of the state administration. Almshouses were visited annually and returns were received from overseers of the poor in the cities and towns of the commonwealth. A somewhat similar trend of development took place in Pennsylvania. The state department began to exercise supervision over county almshouses and township and district poorhouses and to consult with poor boards on outdoor relief.

State supervision will not result in the efficient administration of public poor-relief as long as the unit of local government which raises and disburses the funds is inadequate to the tasks imposed upon it. The New England town has since 1639 been directed to "relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully settled therein whenever they shall stand in need thereof." Up to 1911 this responsibility was discharged by the giving of a pauper dole, not more than two dollars a week in summer and three dollars a week in winter. The alternative was almshouse care. In 1911 the Massachusetts law was amended so that the arbitrary maximum figures were eliminated. Pennsylvania for many years clung to the township and borough system for the distribution of public poor-relief and vestiges of the antiquated method still remain. In New Jersey the municipality is the administrative unit in the granting of poor-relief, although the inadequacy of the system has become apparent to all.

Much has been said in defense of the town or municipality as the unit for the administration of public poor-relief. "To administer poor relief by an authority beyond the horizon of such small neighborhoods, out of funds not directly extracted from the pockets of its residents," it has been said, "is to give this impersonal caste to relief which encourages pauperism."[19] This is good Jeffersonian doctrine which was well suited to the formative period of American political

[19] Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

institutions. Today it is an outworn shibboleth which, if followed, must lead, on the one hand, to human misery and degradation or, on the other hand, to extravagance and the depletion of public funds.

In the first place, the town is too small a unit to permit adequate financing of poor-relief. Though vastly less efficient than the county unit poor-relief administration, it is more costly. In Pennsylvania, where both the county and the township systems have been in operation, it was found that the townships and boroughs had to raise 40 per cent more funds in proportion than the county-unit poor districts. At the same time the ratio of increase in poor-taxes was 47 per cent greater in the townships and boroughs than in the county-unit poor districts.[20] In the second place, the smaller governmental units cannot be effectively organized to meet emergencies such as widespread unemployment and sudden disasters. Many small municipalities in New Jersey have no officially designated overseer of the poor, and frequently no appropriation for poor-relief can be drawn upon in case of necessity. Where there is an overseer of the poor, such appointment is on a part-time basis, except in the large cities. The result has been that any sudden increase in the number of persons seeking relief has been met without plan if not without funds. Even in Massachusetts, where every town has its overseers of the poor or where the selectmen act in this capacity, public assistance has met the crisis of unemployment without adequate planning. The expenditures for relief by cities, towns, and state for the year April 1, 1930—March 31, 1931, were $13,000,000 as compared with $7,600,000 for the year 1927–28. Here as well as in other states the great amount of unemployment and the large number of applicants for relief made necessary too hasty action. Investigation was delayed and follow-up visits were often omitted, which would not have occurred had careful planning been an inherent feature of the system of public poor-relief.[21]

The situation in the United States since 1929 has presented a striking analogy with that which confronted England immediately

[20] Frankel, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff.

[21] In Massachusetts the overseers of the poor are required to keep complete records of their activities in a form prescribed by the Department of Public Welfare, and to make annual and decennial reports of such matters as may be ordered by the Depart-

following the close of the World War. Growing destitution due to unemployment has created a financial burden which townships and municipalities are unable to bear. At the same time, the increased number of persons seeking relief has overwhelmed the part-time overseers of the poor who are without the facilities necessary to carry on efficient administration of poor-relief. If we are in this country to follow English experience, as we were formerly wont to do in the matter of poor-relief, we shall promptly adopt the county as the only governmental unit which is large enough to permit of adequate financing and at the same time small enough to permit of effective organization and a correlated program covering a wide range of services.[22]

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ment. For each day's neglect the town may forfeit one dollar, and several hundred dollars are collected each year from this source. Some one hundred and thirty town and city almshouses are inspected annually. Such institutions are steadily decreasing, owing in part, at least, to intelligent outdoor relief under the supervision of the state (Sly, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–23).

[22] The New Jersey plan of county welfare boards was provided by legislation in 1931 (see *Public Laws of New Jersey* [1931], 373).

RELIEF AND FRIENDLY SERVICE BY POLITICAL PRECINCT LEADERS[1]

IS THE professional social worker the only agent relieving the needs of the poor? A recent study made of six hundred precinct captains, the smallest or unit political agents in the existing party hierarchies in Chicago, throws considerable light on this question. Interviews with these party officials, twelve from every ward in the city, disclosed that kindness or assistance to people in want or trouble was used by the precinct captain as one of his political techniques, and that the political party or its machine in a metropolis is a benevolent as well as a political agency; in fact, its political success depends upon the degree of its charitableness. The central headquarters, the ward, and, less frequently, the precinct clubs are the locales for applicants seeking relief.

There is constant kindness of the poor to each other, and an unfailing response to the distresses of their poorer neighbors, even when the benefactors themselves are in danger of bankruptcy. The kindness which a poor man shows his neighbor is doubtless heightened by the consciousness that he may himself be in distress next week; he therefore stands by his friend when he gets too drunk to care for himself, when he loses his wife or child, when he is evicted for the non-payment of rent, or when he is arrested for a petty offense. In a locality where political standards are undeveloped and plastic, when the practice of self-government is new, the poor expect the same kind of favors from their political representatives, irrespective of the justice or ethics involved. The supply follows the demand, and especially when the benefits can be converted into political advantages. The precinct captain living in the poorer locality is merely adhering to the moral code set by his neighbors, but he has greater power than they have because of his position in the political machine.

[1] [This article deals briefly with a study undertaken by a graduate student in Political Science of the University of Chicago under the direction of that Department. The completed manuscript report may be consulted in the files of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago.—ED.]

He tries to satisfy some of the social and economic needs of his constituency, and in so doing to attract as many of his neighbors as possible. He may be thoroughly sincere in his deeds of kindness, he may thoroughly enjoy the pleasure of being spoken of as a "good fellow," and humanely desire to alleviate distress; this impulse may, however, gradually change into the desire to put his people under obligation. On the other hand, the person who receives aid gives in return a commodity prized highly by the local party agent. He is not a person asking for help but an independent human being with a marketable vote. As far as the community is concerned the demoralizing aspect is when kindly impulse is made a cloak for the satisfaction of personal ambitions and when the primitive and plastic ethics of an immature locality gradually conform to the standards of the precinct philanthropist.

The extent of the archaic relief-giving of the unit party official in a large metropolis was gauged by the six hundred precinct captains interviewed in Chicago; the reports from other large municipalities, however, substantiated the findings.[2] The testimony of the local city party official did not submit itself to verification as the names and addresses of the recipients of his kindnesses were not obtainable. Except when a constituent betrays the local boss, it was presumably his policy not to disclose the names of those who had been the objects of his beneficence.[3] These deeds are tabulated in Table I.

The charitable deeds of the precinct captain depend upon the power and influence of the ward committeeman, who in Chicago is an elected party official representing an area including from twenty-five to one hundred precincts. He usually chooses the captain who represents an area embodying from 400 to 600 voters. Often the ward organization appropriated a definite sum for charity.[4] The pre-

[2] The Assembly District Leader of New York City renders the same services; it is generally known that the success of Tammany Hall lies in no small degree in its charitable gifts to the poor. See Joseph M. Goldrick, "The New Tammany," *The American Mercury* (September, 1928).

[3] A complete record of each of the precinct captains interviewed, including all their benevolent offices, is on file in the offices of the Social Science Research Committee at the University of Chicago. The relief given corresponded in kind to that customarily given by the social worker.

[4] The 41st Ward (Thompson Faction) spent $1,000 on charity in one year. The 24th Ward (Democrats) spent $1,500 a year for coal alone; 31 precinct captains distributed this sum. See *Organization Report for 1928*.

cinct captain recommended the needy. The alderman was another source, and sometimes, the "lady members" of the political party, representing even a larger voting area, assumed responsibility for the

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCT CAPTAINS ACCORDING TO THE BENEVOLENT SERVICES RENDERED CONSTITUENTS BY RESIDENTIAL AREAS*

Types of Benevolent Service	Poor Residential Areas		Comfortable Residential Areas		Wealthy Residential Areas		All Areas	
	Total Number Answering Question	Percentage Rendering Service	Total Number Answering Question	Percentage Rendering Service	Total Number Answering Question	Percentage Rendering Service	Total Number Answering Question	Percentage Rendering Service
1. Furnished:								
Food	191	62.3	256	44.9	26	.....	473	49.4
Coal	188	52.7	255	39.6	26	.....	469	42.8
Rent	187	49.2	254	34.3	25	.....	466	38.4
2. Juvenile guidance	184	49.5	251	36.3	25	16.0	460	40.4
3. Adjusted domestic difficulties	179	35.8	248	27.0	23	21.7	450	30.2
4. Medical aid through:								
Public agencies	177	52.5	243	36.2	22	9.1	442	41.4
Private aid	.....	6.2	.....	6.6	.....	.....	.....	6.2
Other types	.....	1.7	.....	4.1	.....	9.1	.....	3.3
Type unknown	.....	7.4	.....	9.9	.....	.....	.....	8.3
None	.....	32.2	.....	43.2	.....	81.8	.....	40.8
5. Attended:	182	.....	249	.....	24	.....	455	.....
Funerals	.....	81.8	.....	76.3	.....	54.1	.....	77.3
Christenings	.....	27.5	.....	26.9	.....	20.8	.....	26.8
Weddings	.....	53.3	.....	52.6	.....	25.0	.....	51.4
6. Christmas baskets	180	72.8	260	72.3	25	60.0	465	71.8
7. Governmental jobs	214	60.3	303	52.8	31	35.5	548	54.7
8. Miscellaneous jobs	213	78.9	297	67.3	32	59.3	542	69.1
9. Legal aid	170	68.2	245	64.1	24	45.8	439	64.6
10. Local community aid†	171	66.1	255	65.1	25	32.0	451	63.6

* Unknowns omitted.

† This group includes keeping streets cleaned, having garbage collected, and maintaining peace among the neighbors.

needy. The precinct captain was in all instances the channel through which the wants of his constituency were satisfied. It was he who called upon the ward committeemen, the alderman, or even the county agent when he was not himself able to furnish the necessary service. If a constituent applied directly to any of the higher officials

he was referred to his local party agent, or else information about him was procured from the precinct captain, and the recommendation he made followed. This was the usual etiquette. There were times when the precinct captain individually raised funds to meet the needs of his district; and other times when he was too poor or too insignificant to have personal power.

The field study showed that over 49 per cent of the precinct captains in all Chicago areas furnished food, 42 per cent supplied coal, and 38 per cent provided rent. As might be expected, the precinct captains living in wealthy residential areas rendered no such service. Most of it fell in the poor residential localities. The captain in one such locality paid the rent of a voter for the seven months of his unemployment. In another instance, the ward boss was the largest property owner in the area. Whenever any of the constituents of his faction in the region became delinquent in the payment of his rent, the precinct captain arranged with his superior not to press for payment, especially when he was certain of the tenant's vote. Clothing was frequently distributed in the poorer areas. Truant children who stayed home because they claimed that they did not have suitable clothes were the special concern of one very diligent precinct officer.

Precinct captains manifested further interest in children by helping widowed mothers secure pensions, by arranging for the adoption of children, by procuring birth certificates, or work certificates, or if the situation demanded it, by preventing the under-aged child from procuring an employment permit; also by obtaining the transfer of a child from one school to another. In a striking instance the party agent succeeded in maintaining a child at school although the psychologist had declared him subnormal and recommended his removal. At another time, a disobedient pupil, aided by a precinct captain was reinstated after dismissal from school. The foreign-born parent and the American child frequently clashed in their views and the precinct captain stepped in as family adjuster. In one family the parents objected to the numerous callers their daughter received at home; they were advised by the party worker that their attitude was harmful to the daughter, it drove her to meet her friends on street corners, away from their chaperonage and supervision. Much to the distress of another parent, their daughter had formed the

habit of staying out late in the evenings. The party captain claimed that he convinced the girl that her prank was foolishness and dissuaded her from repeating it. Some precinct captains adjusted misdemeanors and thefts which started as children's fun. The kindness showered upon the child frequently served to gain the precinct captain the confidence of the adults in the family, and eventually their votes. Forty per cent of the precinct captains in all the areas claimed to render what they thought was "juvenile guidance"; the largest per cent lived in poor residential areas.

The precinct captains have functioned also to attempt to adjust domestic difficulties; 30 per cent claimed to have rendered this service. In one instance, the captain was asked to prevent an Italian from beating his wife; in another, he helped a mother of ten children secure a divorce from a drunkard; in still another, he was forced to intervene in the domestic affairs of a policeman who in a drunken fit shot his wife in the leg: he effected a temporary reconciliation; and still in another instance he advised a widow who had remarried, but who was unhappy because she had found her second husband inferior to the first, that second marriages were usually made for convenience; and in another situation, the precinct captain secured the release of a working man, father of two children, from Bridewell, a penal institution. He was sent there because, crazed by "moonshine," he had attempted to slash his wife's throat. One party worker said that in domestic upheavals he tried first to reconcile the husband and wife, but if this was futile he encouraged and helped them secure a divorce. To be family conciliator required much tact. If the party agent favored one member of the family in preference to the other, he was apt to create enmity which was registered unfavorably against him on election day. Ward committeemen usually warned their assistants not to become involved in such cases.

In illness and bereavement warm sympathy and good fellowship placed individuals and families under a long indebtedness to their local political agent. "To visit the sick, and bury the dead," was an established political axiom. Nearly 60 per cent provided some form of aid to those needing medical care. Most frequently this help was provided with the assistance of public agencies. Many of the precinct captains or their wives visited the sick, brought flowers, con-

veyed them to or from the hospital, and otherwise ministered to their needs.

In case of death more than 77 per cent of the captains reported they had attended funerals. Sometimes, relatives sought "decent" burial for a poor relative from the precinct captain. One, a Negro, applied to his captain for a "right" burial for his son; the party agent not only saved the man from the Potter's field, but he also paid all funeral expenses. Flowers were customarily sent to funerals; one party agent complained that he still owed for flowers he had sent to the last funeral he attended. A number of the political officials acted as pall bearers, or they provided transportation for relatives and friends of the deceased, sometimes using their wives as chauffeurs. A precinct captain aided two Polish widows to arrange for the burial of their husbands, killed in accidents for which compensation had been collected; the county was made to pay all the expenses. A well-arranged and impressive funeral is greatly desired by destitute families of all nationalities. The sagacious party agent was always present; he marched in the procession, and offered sympathy and assistance to the mourners. Frequently, if the dead voter left a large and locally important family, the greater dignitaries of the party attended the funeral. Thus, at such a time, the city's officialdom, including judges, aldermen, might be seen riding in procession behind the hearse, and later calling on the bereaved family.

As the precinct captain mourned with his neighbors, so he rejoiced with them. Over one-half attended weddings, a ratio much smaller, however, than those who attended funerals. The party agents who presented themselves at christening were even less than those who attended weddings.

During the Christmas season over 70 per cent of the captains sent baskets, distributed money, or sent greetings. Twenty-three baskets were given by one precinct official. In one instance the party worker sent a basket to a new divorcee in his locality; in another, a kind-hearted Irish official carried one of the two turkeys his wife had prepared for his family to a needy widow in the district. Usually the ward organization provided the baskets distributed by the precinct officials. Four thousand baskets were distributed in one ward. Frequently dances were planned to raise money for use during this

season. An unscrupulous citizen, by maneuvering, sometimes received a basket from more than one party agent, but only in a very rare instance; the local party agent knew his constituency.

The most constructive function of the precinct captain, from a social viewpoint, was to attempt to provide the needy with employment. The officials found work for their friends in the governmental offices, locally situated, in semi-public concerns and with private firms. Nearly 55 per cent had tried to supply their constituents with public jobs, for the most part in the city administration. These jobs were either permanent, including a civil service examination after the appointment; or they were temporary jobs, lasting from sixty to ninety days, distributed usually before a primary or an election; or they were merely pay-roll jobs with no service requirement. As many as twelve public jobs were secured by one precinct captain for his voters; others said they had secured seven or eight jobs. A small number had provided positions for policemen, firemen, janitors, teachers, and school clerks. The position of life-guard on a public beach was supplied a voter by one precinct captain. The other public offices operating in the city, such as the county, the park boards, the sanitary district, the courts, and the federal offices, received employees from the precinct and ward executives affiliated with the factions having the larger representation in these offices. The precinct captain's power depended directly on the patronage of the ward committeeman, and through him learned of the available political jobs. The faction or party in power inevitably determined the extent of the ward committeeman's and the precinct captain's patronage. If the party captain held a political job, and was in a position to employ other men, his constituents had prior consideration.

Of the non-governmental jobs precinct captains provided their friends, the range was wide. Nearly 70 per cent of these agents said they had helped their friends find such employment. The party captains usually knew the managers of the branch services of the public utilities, and through them found work for some of their adherents. Whenever the captains were not influential enough, the ward committeemen or the aldermen, or the party secretary acted as employment agent. Among the private concerns to which the precinct captains claimed to have sent their adherents were the taxi-cab compa-

nies, a large mail order house, the stock yards, and the numerous construction companies. Often, the unemployed voter was sent to the committeeman who had a private business.[5] In the poor areas the ward headquarters was converted into an employment bureau, the demand for jobs was so great. The jobs supplied were usually clerical and unskilled. The precinct captain's political power in his locality, especially in the poor and comfortable localities, depended in great part on the number of jobs they had at their disposal. They were allotted a certain number for distribution by the ward committeeman.

Legal aid was provided by 64 per cent of the precinct bosslets for their "reliables"; the largest per cent of these lived in poor residential areas. Most frequently in such instances the precinct captains acted as intermediaries and directed their adherents to lawyers whom they knew.

There are also any number of activities, such as intervention and intermediation on the part of the local party agents in the governmental agencies, which are performed by the precinct captains, helpful to the voters in the precincts but which are not always for the best interests of good government and justice.

In some of the localities the party agent was also a specific local community agent; he intervened to remedy the unsatisfactory conditions in his precinct. He induced the men in the various administrative agencies of the city to collect the garbage in their neighborhood, to lighten dark streets and alleys, to mend torn-up pavements, to clean sewers stuffed with grape mash, to provide adequate police protection. One precinct captain succeeded, after much effort, in having an officer stationed at one of the dangerous crossings in his locality. Some of the less scrupulous precinct captains, however, who were employed as inspectors for the street cleaning department sometimes neglected to report the bad conditions in their districts for fear they would be reprimanded. The precinct captain seldom neglected to guard his own interests above those of any individual or locality.

Sometimes the captain intervened between his neighbors as well

[5] For example, one who was well known as a county assessor and ward committeeman, was the owner of a tent and awning company.

as between the individual and the larger community. One cautioned a neighbor against throwing mattresses into an alley, one prevented the owner of a pie factory from disposing refuse in the streets, one intervened between querulous women who threw ashes in front of each other's doorsteps when they quarreled, one restrained an apartment builder from disobeying the building laws, and secured the withdrawal of the building permit when the frontage of his building was not according to city regulation. The captain's property would have suffered in value if he had not done this. More than 63 per cent of the agents interviewed said they had taken an interest in maintaining their districts in reasonably good order. Only 32 per cent of those who lived in wealthy residential areas performed this service. The party or faction to which the captain belonged made no difference.

There were also many miscellaneous services which placed the precinct captain in the category of the voter's friend. He lent money or tools, he supplied a young man with the financial wherewithal to marry, he acted as a "matchmaker," he ran errands, he provided tickets for Riverview and other places of entertainment (for which he did not usually have to pay), his wife ironed clothes and cared for the neighbor's baby, he helped to build a garage, he got dogs out of the dog pound, and he was even called when the water froze. In short, he granted any possible personal favor that involved a political return. These deeds were performed to a similar degree by the precinct captains of both factions and the two parties functioning in the municipality at this time. In the better residential areas there were, of course, fewer of such activities.

The relationship between public or private social service agencies and the precinct agent has often been a subject of speculation. Judging from the precinct captains questioned, nearly 50 per cent have had some such contacts. The public social service agency was used more frequently than the private agency. Applicants were frequently sent to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. The local party official preferred to aid his constituents, or to use the assistance of the ward committeeman or alderman. The criticism made of private social service bureaus by party agents was that these

agencies used most of their funds on the "inside" organization, and not for the welfare of the poor. The "red tape" and the drawn-out procedure of the investigations made were also criticized. The private agencies were also accused of being too technical. They "studied" the poor too much.

Inquiry made of persons in charge of the private and public social agencies in the city, including the social settlements, showed that the precinct officials frequently tried to use these agencies to further their own ends. Records found in the branch offices of the United Charities showed that political agents sometimes intervened for their friends, accompanying them to the office, or sending letters to explain their situation. Frequently they camouflaged as the applicant's friend, unwilling to let the local family agency know who they were. Social workers in the poor localities said they knew instances when the local party agents found employment for some of their clients. An assistant supervisor of the Chicago United Charities was certain that the family welfare agencies were being exploited by the party agents, and that they usually took credit for many services rendered by professional social workers. The executives of the public social service agencies admitted that they knew precinct officials referred cases to their workers, but they did not know the extent of the practice, nor the names of the officials who specialized in this activity. "Because of the precinct captain's interest in the difficulties of his community, and because of his knowledge of the sources of public relief he is inevitably the means through which a great many needy individuals are brought in contact with the public relief agencies." Furthermore, during the past twenty years of his service, this official related he had innumerable cases referred to him by precinct captains. The same opinion was expressed by the other executives of social agencies in Cook County, and by head residents of social settlements.

In the light of the objectives of organized social work, the friendly services of the precinct captain are not constructive and might well be eliminated.[6] The precinct captain wished merely to please in order to enhance his political power. Favors, such as relief-

[6] See Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1902).

giving, meant obligations, and only woe followed the official who was slow to recognize this political principle. His services were immediate and palliative. He was neither philosopher nor fool but a practical human being who used to his advantage the ethics of the group he served. The result was that he frequently provided predatory and anti-social assistance in anticipation of votes.

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LOST RESOURCES IN LIFE INSURANCE: A STUDY OF DEPENDENT FAMILIES IN ST. LOUIS

EXPERIENCE shows that lost or unclaimed resources in life insurance, especially in lapsed insurance, are not infrequently found among families who apply to a family welfare agency for relief. The resources are lost in the sense that their existence is usually unknown to the family. Few of the families who apply for relief have not attempted at some time in their history to purchase insurance protection. Many are still carrying or have carried not only industrial insurance but also other forms of life insurance. During a normal year such as 1928, 95 per cent of the families who received relief from the St. Louis Provident Association for three or more consecutive months had carried life insurance at some time; 73 per cent still had insurance protection in force; 35 per cent had non-forfeiture values in their lapsed policies, about which they knew little or nothing. It is reasonable to assume that a similar situation prevails in the 1932 case load, which is more than six times as large as that of 1928. The discovery of lost or unclaimed resources of this kind is even more important now than formerly, in view of the greater need among families and the greater importance of judicious expenditure of relief funds.

The families themselves are usually unaware of such resources. Obviously, it is more desirable social treatment to help the family realize these resources, when they mean income, than to continue giving material relief which could be spent to better advantage for families who have no resources whatever. When these resources mean chiefly death protection, it is also more desirable social treatment to determine their existence than to continue a program of relief that contributes directly or indirectly to insurance protection which, for the time being, is not needed. For example, more than $144,000 worth of extended insurance protection was verified to be in force on 600 lapsed policies belonging to 145 relief families. The families, representing a random selection from the 1932 case load of

the St. Louis Provident Association, were unaware of this existing protection. Seven were entitled to unclaimed death benefits amounting to $1,929 on deceased individuals. Several of the insurance companies were willing, as a concession, to purchase part of the outstanding extended insurance liability in seventy-two families for $6,374, provided the social workers felt the destitution warranted the surrender of the corresponding protection for this remaining reserve value. As a result, forty-six of these families were assisted to obtain such reserves to the amount of $3,058 on part of their extended insurance without seriously impairing protection. The case worker who learns to recognize and to develop the lost resources in life insurance not only prevents unnecessary relief expenditures but also becomes professionally more useful both to the client and to the community. The insurance company and the case worker can make the recovery of such resources possible.

The lost or unclaimed resources in life insurance are of various kinds, including death benefits, lapsed policy values, unclaimed disability benefits (such as total and permanent disability benefits or premium waivers), and sick benefits. The lapsed policy values include cases in which only extended insurance or paid-up insurance is found, assuring some protection; cases in which certain insurance companies are willing to purchase the outstanding liability thus discovered; and unclaimed values in lapsed endowment policies.

This discussion, which is based on the records of the St. Louis Provident Association and other St. Louis social agencies during the last six years is limited to unclaimed death benefits and to lapsed policy values which assure some protection. Its purpose is to indicate the presence of lost resources in life insurance among dependent families, to show why they should be developed on a case work basis, and how social workers can do it.

The policyholder is usually uninformed about life insurance fundamentals, and often knows little even about his own policy. Clients of the social agencies, although insurance conscious, are for the most part unfamiliar with the privileges in their insurance and the insurance laws of the state. The social worker, however, must understand these things. She must know, for example, the kinds of insurance families carry and which kinds have non-forfeiture values; non-for-

feiture values and their interpretation under the state insurance laws, including the significance of "conditional paid-up insurance" and "unconditional non-forfeitable paid-up insurance"; and what determines a contract of insurance under the laws of a given state. A brief description of these points is given here for the state of Missouri in order to explain the situations in the cases that follow later.

The classification of insurance according to the systems of insurance found among dependent families includes, of course, legal reserve or old-line insurance or regular life insurance, such as ordinary life insurance and intermediate insurance; industrial insurance (monthly or weekly) (on a legal reserve basis); life, health, and accident insurance (on a legal reserve basis); fraternal beneficiary insurance, either on a legal reserve basis or on the assessment basis; assessment insurance, including that sold by burial leagues; and stipulated premium insurance.

At the risk of being too elementary, these terms are briefly explained here in order to assure a common basis of understanding in connection with the examination of case material.

"*Legal reserve*" *or* "*old-line insurance*" *or* "*regular life insurance*" are different names for a system of insurance scientifically determined on an actuarial basis whereby a premium is charged which is large enough to permit the accumulation of what is called a "reserve." Premium rates are lowest for those who enter the company at the younger ages and vice versa. The reserve accumulates from the extra allowance made in premium rates in the earlier years of the policy to meet the expenses of the later years of the policy when the actual premiums collected are insufficient to meet the costs of increasing risks and claims. The older the policy the larger its reserve will be. These reserves form the basis of what are called non-forfeiture values, the understanding of which will do much toward the recognition of situations in which dependent families may be found to have unclaimed or lost resources in their insurance. Further mention of non-forfeiture values will be made later.

"*Ordinary life insurance*" is insurance written on the basis of what it costs to insure a person for $1,000, or a multiple thereof, at a given age. Premiums are paid annually, semi-annually, or quarterly. Some companies permit monthly payment of premiums. Ordinary life insurance is the cheapest legal reserve insurance because the method of premium collection and costs of operation are cheaper. Intermediate insurance is a form of ordinary life insurance usually sold in denominations of $500.

"*Industrial insurance*" is insurance based not upon what a fixed amount will cost but rather upon what a nickel a week will buy at a given age. Agents call up-

on the family for the weekly premiums. Industrial insurance is intended chiefly for burial protection among families whose limited weekly incomes will not permit them to accumulate the premiums for protection on the ordinary life insurance basis. The cost of industrial insurance is materially greater than ordinary life insurance because the bookkeeping and selling expenses are necessarily greater. For this reason it has been referred to as "insurance at retail" whereas ordinary life insurance is "insurance at wholesale." Industrial insurance paid by the month is called monthly industrial insurance. It is sold to families who are believed to have sufficient income to make monthly payments possible.

"*Life, health, and accident insurance*" on the legal reserve basis, in its most common form, is paid for also by the week to an agent who calls at the home for the premiums. It is sold on the basis of a nickel a week. Each nickel per week will provide a $1.00 weekly sick or accident benefit provided the policy actually covers the disability in spite of the numerous limitations and restrictions in the policy. Eighty per cent of the weekly premium is set aside to provide the necessary fund from which to pay such disability benefits. Twenty per cent of the weekly premium is set aside to pay for a small death or funeral benefit, called the "life feature" of this kind of insurance. For example, a client may have a life, health, and accident insurance policy taken at age forty-seven for which he pays thirty cents a week in order to obtain a $6.00 weekly sick benefit and a $72.00 death benefit. The life feature of this policy is subject to the legal reserve insurance regulations and, therefore, is subject to the non-forfeiture statutes. Sometimes this insurance has what is called a "life-rider" attached to the policy, providing for an additional amount of life insurance for which the insured pays an additional premium of five cents or a multiple thereof. The rider also is subject to the non-forfeiture laws.

"*Assessment insurance*" is protection for which the members of an insurance association pay what are called "assessments." Whenever there is a death in the membership, an assessment is levied against the living members to meet the cost of the benefits promised the beneficiary of the deceased member. The amount of the assessment paid for this kind of insurance, therefore, fluctuates with the number of deaths. Assessment insurance has no non-forfeiture values because the assessements do not provide for the necessary reserves to make non-forfeiture privileges possible as in the case of legal reserve insurance. Burial leagues, frequently operated in connection with undertaking establishments, are another form of assessment insurance. Assessment insurance, as such, refers to insurance associations operating on a commercial basis as contrasted with the fraternal basis on which fraternal societies write insurance on their fraternal membership.

"*Fraternal insurance*" societies are especially numerous. They offer insurance to their membership which exists primarily for a fraternal relationship. Two kinds of fraternal insurance are to be found. One is written on the assessment basis and the other is written by fraternal societies whose insurance business is on much the same basis as that of legal reserve insurance, i.e., the premium

charged is sufficient to permit a reserve to be established on a scientific or actuarial basis. This latter form of fraternal insurance has the non-forfeiture privileges common to legal reserve insurance.

"*Stipulated premium insurance*" companies operate under what are known as the "stipulated premium insurance laws." Stipulated premium insurance companies are organized for the purpose of selling insurance on the smallest possible premium adequate to the risk. Their policies have a "safety clause" which gives the company the right to charge any deficiency in their assets against the policyholders themselves, i.e., in times of depression or epidemic the company may levy additional assessments against the policyholder in the form of additional premiums. If the assessments are not paid the amount of insurance may be decreased proportionately. The main difference between stipulated premium insurance and the regular "old-line" forms is that the amount of insurance in a stipulated premium policy is not necessarily absolutely guaranteed for a fixed amount. Missouri insurance laws make granting of non-forfeiture privileges optional with a stipulated premium company.

Non-forfeiture values, which perhaps need more explanation, have been mentioned in connection with the fact that the premium charged for some of the foregoing forms of insurance provides for a reserve sufficient to meet the cost of increasing risk as the age of the insured increases. If the insured withdraws from the company he is permitted, under certain conditions, to withdraw a portion of the reserve in his policy. State laws and insurance companies make provision for the use of these reserves in event of premium default after premiums have been paid three years or more. Otherwise the insured would lose everything he has "put in," as the client expresses it. Insurance company practices as well as state laws differ, and some kinds of insurance do not provide a reserve. But, in general, it is important to remember that the laws of the state in which the policy is a contract apply, unless the policy provisions are more generous than the state laws. The Missouri insurance laws allow for paid-up insurance and extended insurance after three policy years, on life insurance policies that are sold in Missouri or have otherwise become Missouri contracts. In addition to these two non-forfeiture values—i.e., paid up insurance and extended insurance—some insurance policies also provide for a cash surrender value.

Paid-up insurance value is life insurance for an amount less than the sum for which the original policy was written. It is payable at death, or at the endowment maturity date if the policy is an endowment. It is not a free gift as the

term "Free Policy" in some industrial policies implies to clients. In Missouri, paid-up insurance if wanted, should be requested in writing within sixty days from date of default in premiums. The amount of paid-up insurance value depends on how much the accumulated reserve will buy at the time of premium default.[1]

Extended insurance value is sometimes called continued insurance. By this privilege of extended insurance the insured may have death protection at the amount for which the policy was originally written, but for a limited period of time only, and at the expiration of such time the protection ceases entirely. Some endowments are an exception and may remain in full death benefit on extended insurance until the endowment maturity date. Some endowments of many years standing will have a reserve at the time of premium default, which is large enough to provide for a cash payment called a "pure endowment," payable when the insured outlives the extended insurance period. In either case, the insured who dies during the term of extended insurance, dies protected by the face amount of the policy. If he dies *after* this term of extended insurance expires, there is no more protection under the policy. The length of time that extended insurance will last depends entirely on how much the reserve will buy at the time of premium default.

Missouri insurance laws do not provide for a *cash surrender value*, but many companies include a cash surrender clause in their policies. These clauses become operative after ten years in industrial policies, although some provide it in five years. Ordinary life insurance has a cash surrender clause operative at the end of three years and sometimes at the end of two years. The cash surrender value, however, is the poorest surrender choice the insured can make from the standpoint of his own economy. The cash value will depend upon the amount of the reserve available at the time of premium default. The cash surrender value of an insurance policy is the amount the policyholder may withdraw in cash if he wishes to discontinue his policy and withdraw completely from the company.

Not all insurance policies mention these non-forfeiture values. Those which do not must be evaluated according to their terms and the laws under which they are written. The insurance laws of the state in which the policy is a contract are also a part of the policy. The policies of many companies give the social worker some clue to the present paid-up insurance, extended insurance, and cash value, provided the correct date of last payment is known. It needs to be remembered, so far as Missouri is concerned, that the non-forfeiture clauses in many policies do not conform to the meaning of the insurance laws of the state and must be interpreted accordingly. The clients of the social agencies do not generally understand that the

[1] See *Missouri Revised Statutes, 1929*, sections 5741, 5742, 5743, 5744.

Missouri insurance laws provide for extended insurance or else "unconditional non-forfeitable paid-up insurance." Experience shows, further, that social workers themselves are surprised to learn of this fact. If the insured fails to request a paid-up insurance policy within sixty days after premium default on a policy over three years old, his policy lapses for extended insurance, unless it contains a provision for "unconditional non-forfeitable paid-up insurance." It may make considerable difference to the family whether the social worker understands the difference between "conditional paid-up insurance" clauses and "unconditional paid-up insurance" clauses. The two examples of these clauses quoted immediately below are common.

Conditional paid-up insurance clause.—"Whole-Life—Free Policy." At any time after premiums have been paid hereon for three full years, *and while this policy is in force*, the company will, upon written application to the home office upon blank furnished by the company, accompanied by this policy and all receipt books, grant the insured a free policy of life insurance, payable at the same times and *under the same conditions as this* policy, but upon which no further payments of premiums shall be required, in accordance with the following table.

Unconditional paid-up insurance clause.—The following *unconditional and non-forfeitable, paid-up insurance*, based upon each one hundred dollars of insurance will be granted after three years' premiums shall have been paid, provided no indebtedness exists on this policy. If an indebtedness exists upon this policy, the said paid-up values will be reduced in the proportion the indebtedness bears to 75 per centum of the reserve as computed upon the actuaries experience table of mortality with 4 per centum interest.

The "following tables" mentioned in these clauses refer to paid-up insurance tables which usually appear in the policies immediately following the paid-up insurance clause.

The requirements or the so-called "conditions" which are italicized in the first example make the paid-up insurance "conditional." If the client holds a policy containing a "conditional paid-up insurance" clause and the policy is a Missouri contract of insurance, the policy will lapse automatically in Missouri for its extended insurance value unless the insured requests in writing a paid-up policy within sixty days after premium default. If the policy contains an "unconditional paid-up insurance" clause, as illustrated above, the policy will lapse for its paid-up insurance value whether it is a Missouri con-

tract or not. This raises the question of how to determine whether a policy is a Missouri contract.

A policy of insurance issued in Missouri to a citizen of the state is a Missouri contract. A policy bought in another state and allowed to lapse, if subsequently revived in Missouri is held to be a Missouri contract and is subject to the Missouri law.[2] It may make quite a difference, when determining the lost or unclaimed policy values, to know whether the client's policy is or is not a Missouri contract. The social worker must obtain competent legal advice in relation to the facts in the particular case.

The foregoing discussion may be summarized into three points which bear upon the case stories:

1. Dependent families have practically all forms of insurance and few indeed have not at some time in their history attempted to maintain some kind of insurance protection.

2. Life insurance sold on a legal reserve basis has non-forfeiture values, such as paid-up insurance, extended insurance, and sometimes cash value. These values will be found in ordinary life insurance, industrial insurance sold on a legal reserve basis, and fraternal insurance written on a legal reserve basis. Some stipulated premium insurance has non-forfeiture value. The life feature of life, health, and accident insurance sold on a legal reserve basis is also subject to non-forfeiture laws. On the other hand, assessment insurance and fraternal insurance sold on the assessment basis do not have non-forfeiture privileges.

3. Missouri insurance laws provide automatic extended insurance or else unconditional non-forfeitable paid-up insurance on policies sold to citizens in the state and also on those policies which become Missouri contracts, irrespective of whether the policies contain conditional paid-up insurance clauses.

Many families known to the social agency believe non-payment of insurance premiums is always synonymous with no insurance protection. This is due to their lack of knowledge of their privilege un-

[2] See *Insurance Laws, with an Appendix of Laws Relating to Insurance*, published by the Superintendent of Insurance, Joseph B. Thompson, 1931 p. 39.

See also *McGeehan* v. *Mutual Life Insurance Company*, 131 Missouri Appeals 417, 111 S.W. 604.

der the terms of their policies and the Missouri insurance laws. The two groups of cases which follow, illustrate how social workers can learn to help families recover these lost or unclaimed resources in life insurance.

GROUP I.

UNCLAIMED DEATH BENEFITS

Case 1: This old couple received relief for several months due to the man's illness, which eventually proved fatal. The widow was paid $50 death benefit on a lapsed life, health, and accident policy held in one company, but did not know why. She supposed it was because the company had known her husband so many years and felt sorry to hear that all his insurance was lapsed. The $50 satisfied the undertaker, who felt lucky to obtain this much on his account. Friends of the widow thought it nice that the insurance company paid anything on a policy that was lapsed. The case worker, like the widow, assumed the stack of lapsed policies was worthless. So did the friends and the employer of the deceased. Months later, when relief plans for the widow's future care were under discussion with the home economist, the case worker was shown why and how to make an analysis of the fifteen available lapsed policies held by the widow.

Insurance information.—Among the policies was a fraternal certificate on the assessment basis, which therefore had no lapsed value. There were also two life, health, and accident policies on the assessment basis in a burial league or association which, although they were carried more than three years, had no lapsed value. Three policies on the man appeared to have had extended insurance at the time of his death. Their total face amount was $236. One policy was a legal reserve weekly industrial policy and the other two were life, health, and accident insurance policies on which extended insurance applied to the life features of $70 and $36 respectively. The last premium books were lost. One policy, which appeared in an old premium book by number, was also lost.

Action taken and results.—The companies in question were asked to verify the correct date of last payment on their policies and to determine the dates on which extended insurance would expire.

One company, on learning of the death, assisted the case worker in helping the widow prepare the necessary proof of death papers and speedily paid the $36 due the widow on the life feature of its policy. The other company resisted the case worker's effort to learn the correct date of last payment of the policies and to obtain a description of the one policy which was lost. Eventually the State Insurance Commissioner was given the available facts, requested to obtain the necessary data, and to determine the value of the policies. The policies were found to have been in force on extended insurance for their face amount of $200 at the date of the man's death. Eventually, this second company paid this amount to the widow, who was thereby prevented from having to accept institutional care at city expense in the home for the aged.

Case 2: This is a case of a widow with several children. The family was under relief care in 1924 and 1925 during the man's illness. He died in March, 1925. The family agency then assisted the widow in obtaining a mother's allowance under the city ordinance whereby mothers who qualify may obtain assistance for the support of their children in their own homes. When her husband died in 1925 she presented a lapsed life, health, and accident policy on his life to the local office of the company but was told it had no value because she allowed it to lapse. The old case record contains an interview in which she told this to the case worker who, at that time, knew no more than the client about extended insurance and its importance. The old case record dropped the matter at that point. In February, 1929, after hearing neighbors discuss a case in which the family agency helped a family obtain lapsed values on a number of old policies, this widow recalled her experience with her husband's lapsed policy. She brought the policy to the case worker who was her visitor two years previously and asked if she could be assisted in learning the real value of the policy at this late date.

Insurance information.—The policy was issued August 28, 1916, when the man was twenty-seven years old. The face amount was $106.75 written on a life, health, and accident plan costing 35 cents per week, and provided a $7.00 weekly sick benefit. The widow had long since destroyed the premium receipt book. The policy con-

tained an extended insurance surrender privilege. The assumption was that it lapsed with some extended insurance value.

Action taken.—The home office of the insurance company was asked to verify the correct date of last payment of the policy described and to determine the date on which extended insurance would have expired according to the company's records. The life feature of the policy was found to be in full death benefit until a date well beyond that of the man's death. The company was notified of the death. The manager of claims supplied the necessary forms on which the widow should present the usual proof of death. A certified copy of the death certificate was obtained from the State Board of Health, the physician was asked to complete the necessary statement, and the deceased's last employer was asked to complete that part of the form required of employers. The widow was assisted in completing the claimant's statement. These necessary papers, the policy, and the certified copy of the death certificate were forwarded to the insurance company.

Results.—In due time the insurance company sent to the family agency the check for the face amount of the policy, made payable to the widow. She deposited the money in a bank and used it for her family's support. The city was saved $106.75 in relief when the widow received this money.

Case 3: This client came to the family agency in 1931 because she was unemployed. Her husband had deserted her. Emergency assistance was given and the client found temporary work. Meanwhile attempts were made to locate the husband. The client, while discussing her finances with the social worker, described her insurance policies. She held lapsed policies on her husband, herself, and a woman who died in 1919. The latter was the half-sister of the client's husband's first wife. There was also a lapsed policy on an old friend who died in Kentucky in 1931. The client had not attempted to notify the insurance company of these two deaths, although she saved the policies for years after bringing them from Kentucky to Missouri, where she continued premium payments. The policies were originally purchased in Kentucky by the first wife of the client's husband.

Insurance information.—The policies under discussion are outlined in the following table.

Insured	Issued	Amount	Beneficiary	Date of Last Payment	Date of Death
The relative	2-3-13	$154 (paid-up value $21)	Brother-in-law*	1-19-20	10-24-19
The friend..	7-7-13	$50 (paid-up value $26.50)	(Our client)	11-29-26	3-14-31

* The brother-in-law of the deceased is the deserted husband of the client.

The policies provided for conditional paid-up insurance. They were Kentucky contracts and, although brought to Missouri where premium payments continued, legal counsel advised that the policies did not become Missouri contracts because there was no evidence that they had been lapsed and later revived in Missouri. Therefore the policies lapsed in Missouri according to their terms for paid-up insurance, as indicated above. The first policy, however, was in force at the time of the death of the insured. Besides that, premiums had been paid several months beyond the date of death.

The policies also contained what is known as the "Facility of Payment Clause," although specific beneficiaries were also mentioned in the policies. This clause is usually stated somewhat as follows, and is to be found in industrial policies:

Facility of Payment Clause. The company may make payment either to the beneficiary named above, if living, or to such other living beneficiary as may be duly and finally designated and recognized by endorsement hereon or to the executor or administrator of said insured, or to any relative by blood or connection by marriage, or to any person appearing to the company to be equitably entitled thereto by reason of having incurred expense in any way on behalf of the insured for burial or for any other purpose. The receipt of any such payee shall be conclusive evidence that payment has been made to the person or persons entitled thereto and that all claims under this policy have been fully satisfied.

Action taken and method used.—Certified copies of the death certificates were obtained. The insurance company verified the date of last payment and was notified of the death. Evidence was submitted indicating that the client has been the premium payer from the

date of her husband's first wife's death in 1913 until the date of last payment. The social worker helped the client complete the claimant's statement provided by the insurance company for the purpose and sent it with the policies to the insurance company.

Results.—The checks were sent in care of the social worker. They were made payable to the client under the facility of payment clauses in the policies, because she had been the premium payer and could show reasonable evidence of "having incurred expense on behalf of the insured." The payments totaled $279.80, which included $154 on the first policy with interest since October 24, 1919, amounting to $93.34, $1.30 for return of unearned premiums, and also $29.20 for the paid-up value with interest on the second policy.

The money was a complete surprise to the client, who had little idea that she was due this amount. She placed it in a bank to draw upon it for living expenses, and was thus prevented from becoming dependent upon the community.

Case 4: This old lady lives alone, is in poor health, and will doubtless be in some manner dependent upon friends or the community for the remainder of her life. She had been under relief care for about a year, during which time the social worker learned nothing about the insurance "because it was all lapsed." Eventually the client appealed to an old family friend to see if her insurance policies "could be cashed" because she could not pay the premiums. The friend, who knew the client in a professional capacity, but did not know what agency was taking care of her, appealed to the writer to see if the policies "could be cashed" because the agent had told him they had no cash value. The friend, not having examined the policies, explained that he did not know much about insurance or about these policies. He often helped the old lady in the past to pay the premiums on them because she was old and he thought "she needed the protection." Furthermore, the policies were old and valuable. He could no longer afford this charity and now wanted someone to help the old lady cash them for living expenses. He was quite surprised to learn, upon examination, that the policies were not on the old lady at all but upon the lives of three relatives, one of whom was deceased. He could not say why the old lady had not collected the

death claim on this policy, but he thought it foolish for her to have paid premiums on the relatives all these years. The date of last payment was unknown; the whereabouts of the premium receipt book was also unknown.

Insurance information.—The description of the policies is shown in part below:

Insured	Issued	Premium (cents per week)	Amount
Daughter	1897	5	$100 to $130
Daughter	1899	5	88 to 118
Daughter*	1896	5	120
Nephew	1910	5	132

* This daughter died seven months prior to the date of last payment made on this policy.

The policies contain no cash surrender clauses and therefore have no legal cash surrender privilege, because the Missouri insurance laws contain no cash surrender statute. Clients often overlook these facts or do not know them and wonder why policies cannot be cashed much like bank checks.

Action taken and results.—The home office of the insurance company was given a full description of the policies and asked to verify the correct date of last payment, the dates on which extended insurance would expire under each policy, and for what amount the company would be willing to purchase the outstanding liability of one or more of the policies as a concession. It developed that the policies have extended insurance until dates varying from 1947 to 1950. The company is willing to purchase the outstanding liability on all the policies for approximately $135 if the social worker thinks the client's destitution warrants the surrender of the policies for this remainder of their reserve value.

Meanwhile a certified copy of the death certificates obtained from the State Board of Health verifies the death of the daughter seven months prior to the verified date of last payment on the entire insurance account. The client has made no attempt in more than a year's time to notify the insurance company of the death and to collect the $120 due her. The insurance company would be very willing to pay the sum but cannot be expected to know the policy has

matured by death unless notified of the fact. Relief given to this client can be spent to better advantage on other cases where no resources are available. These unnecessary relief expenditures can be avoided by the social worker who learns the elementary fundamentals of life insurance and recognizes the circumstances in which lost resources are likely to be present.

Earlier in this article three kinds of cases were mentioned in which it is useful from the case-work standpoint to verify the lapsed policy values in life insurance. In cases of illness, or where the client has a serious diagnosis and poor prognosis, the social worker is frequently justified by the health factors in making a careful verification of the status of present insurance and of lapsed policies before the death occurs, or before other circumstances create an emotional atmosphere in the family which makes such verification difficult. The three cases in Group 2 illustrate the type of situation in which it is to the family's advantage for the social worker to be forehanded on the insurance facts.

GROUP 2

LAPSED POLICY VALUES ASSURING SOME PROTECTION

Case 5: This family of seven required relief to supplement the wages of the wife, who was the sole support of the household since her husband's illness. The man's diagnosis was serious and physicians considered him totally and permanently disabled.

Insurance information.—The family held ten policies in four companies. This illustration concerns those of only two companies. One company had the man insured for $1,000 under an ordinary life insurance policy containing a total and permanent disability clause providing for $10 a month disability benefit and waiver of premiums during the continuance of such disability. Premiums were paid quarterly. Two quarterly premiums were paid unnecessarily by the family after the disability was known by the social worker to be permanent. Another quarterly premium was due when the social worker discovered the policy and its provision.

The other company's insurance was life, health, and accident insurance on the legal reserve basis. It included policies of six to eight

years' standing on all members of the family. The policies were lapsed over a year. The family considered them valueless and threw them into the trash heap from which they were urged by the case worker to rescue the papers.

Action taken and results.—The first insurance company was informed about the man's total and permanent disability. The social worker paid the quarterly premium due and obtained the necessary medical data on the total and permanent disability blanks provided by the insurance company. In due time the insurance company paid the disability benefits at $10 a month, dating them back to the second quarter for which premiums were unnecessarily paid by the family through its own ignorance of the policy terms. The company also refunded the quarterly premium advanced by the social worker to hold the policy in force pending the company's action on the proof of disability.

The second insurance company verified the correct date of last payment on the lapsed life, health, and accident policies and advised the social worker to caution the family to bring the policies in for full payment of the life feature in event of death of any member of this family within the respective periods of extended insurance. The man's policy provided a life feature of $100 on extended insurance for several years in advance. The family was amazed to hear of these results. The service rendered by the social worker gave both the man and his wife a feeling of security they had not known in months. Seventy dollars total and permanent disability benefits were paid before the man died suddenly. His wife obtained the $100 extended insurance and also the face amount of the $1000 policy less a small outstanding loan against its reserve.

Case 6: This family of seven was known and assisted at intervals during three years. The wife was tubercular and much in need of adequate care in a hospital or sanitorium. The family was indifferent toward medical care and removed the wife from the hospital or the sanitorium against medical advice. The illiterate husband asked for help in verifying the condition of the family's twenty-two lapsed policies, not because he felt uncertain about his wife's recovery or

insurance protection, but because he was under the false impression that he was entitled to cash surrender on the policies. The case illustrates another reason why it is advisable for social workers to know the state non-forfeiture statute as well as the difference between conditional and unconditional paid-up insurance clauses. In this situation, the difference to the family amounted to the difference between $12 and $188 when the death claim was paid.

Insurance information.—Two companies were represented in the lapsed policies. All were weekly industrial insurance of the whole life or the twenty-year-endowment plan and on a legal reserve basis. The five policies in one company offered automatic extended insurance in event of lapse after three policy years.

Those of the other company, with which this illustration is concerned, were non-participating policies, i.e., they did not participate in the company's profits or receive dividends. They contained conditional paid-up insurance clauses operative only in event of lapse after the fifth policy year. The policies were all over four years old and were Missouri contracts. They were lapsed longer than sixty days but were still in the possession of the family. Naturally, the assumption would be that since paid-up policies had not been requested within sixty days from date of last payment, the policies lapsed in Missouri for their extended insurance value. It remained the social worker's problem, in view of the wife's illness and prognosis, to determine how long the protection would last. The policies did not contain a table of extended insurance periods. From experience it was known that this insurance company's representatives were then advising clients and social workers alike that the company's weekly industrial policies have no extended insurance, even in Missouri.

Action taken and results.—The company's manager, who also knew of the woman's diagnosis and poor prognosis, was asked by the family agency to verify from his home office the dates on which extended insurance would expire on the policies. The usual advice was offered —the policies had no extended insurance—only paid-up insurance after *five* policy years. The manager, after receiving information from his home office which was not shown to the social worker,

again expressed the opinion that the policies had no value whatever because they were not kept in force for five years, and, furthermore, none of the policies had extended insurance in the absence of clauses to that effect. The manager agreed that Missouri, perhaps, did have insurance laws. He unconvincingly professed to be unfamiliar with them, and stated that his home office would give the family paid-up insurance policies as a concession even though the premiums were not paid five years. The family should be glad to get this after allowing the policies to lapse against his advice. The paid-up value on the two policies on the sick wife amounted to $12. The offer was refused. The social worker's further request for an estimate of the policy values under the terms of the Missouri non-forfeiture statute was considered by the manager to be meddlesome interference with the insurance company's business.

Thereafter, the social worker was obliged to consult the home office of the insurance company for an estimate of the extended insurance. The policies were also submitted for inspection to the actuary of the State Insurance Department, who calculated their extended insurance periods considerably in excess of those eventually supplied by the home office of the insurance company. Seventeen of the policies were found to have substantial periods of extended insurance. The wife's policies had extended insurance well over three years.

In the midst of the inquiry, the wife died. The husband was informed by the social worker that the policies were in force for their face value of $188. A minister interested in the family, who also knew of the efforts made to determine the policy values, requested a statement from the social worker as to their actual condition. He accompanied the illiterate husband to the insurance company and assisted him in completing the claim. The company paid the claim not to the amount of $12 paid-up insurance value, but for $188 extended insurance.

Case 10: The man is totally and permanently disabled and cared for in a city institution. The wife died leaving two minor children. The man's sister and the woman's aunt were bewildered about

funeral arrangements because they understood the insurance lapsed several months previously. The older boy turned the policies over to the undertaker, who made efforts to learn their value and delayed burial until the value of the policies was known. The premium books were lost. Days elapsed and the man's sister made attempts to learn the values of the policies, with the help of her employer, so the burial could proceed. Six days after the death, the employer requested the family agency to re-open its closed case in order to assist in determining the value of the insurance and help make funeral arrangements as well as plans for the children's care. The man's sister and her employer knew the family agency once saved the man's $1,000 insurance policy from cancellation after the wife had placed unnecessary premium loans on the policy for two years without knowing the policy had a premium waiver clause operative in event of the man's total and permanent disability. The employer believed the man's sister appreciated this service sufficiently to accept guidance.

Insurance information.—The old case record contained a complete description of the family's insurance, including the two policies on the deceased, issued in 1923 at 20 cents a week for $240 each. They were known to have been in force in 1929. The policies were known to be Missouri contracts containing conditional paid-up insurance non-forfeiture clauses. Therefore, if they were now lapsed, the face amounts were assumed to be payable on extended insurance.

Action taken.—A telegram was sent to the insurance company requesting a verification. The extended insurance on each policy was found to be in effect. The undertaker agreed to arrange a suitable burial for $65. The man's sister agreed to apply for guardianship of the children, who were also willing that she be their guardian. Meanwhile the insurance company's local office was informed of the need for guardianship to conserve the insurance for the children's support. The claim manager of the local office took the trouble to call on the case worker to discuss the case and to participate in the plans under way for paying the insurance to a legally appointed guardian. The case worker kept the children's father informed and obtained his written consent for the children's aunt to act as guardian of the children. The family agency's legal counselor and the case

worker assisted the children's aunt in making application to the probate court for guardianship at a minimum expense for filing fees and court costs. In due time the insurance proceeds were paid to the guardian, to be used monthly for the support of the boys at a figure decided upon by the case worker, the guardian, and the boys, and approved by the court.

The foregoing case stories, as well as others which could be cited at length, lead to three general conclusions:

1. In view of the fact that at least 35 per cent of the families under the care of the social agency have non-forfeiture values in their lapsed insurance policies about which they know little or nothing, the social worker should make, in situations involving death, a thorough study of the lapsed policy values on the life of the deceased. As a rule unnecessary relief can be prevented in cases where unclaimed insurance benefits are available. The observant social worker knows that families in distress quite generally discuss only the insurance about which they are worried or on which they wish assistance with premium payments. Therefore, it is more than a matter of asking the family what insurance they have *now*. It is just as important to learn with what companies the family was formerly insured, when, for how long, and what became of the policies if they lapsed after the third policy year.

2. An understanding of the elementary principles of life insurance and the state insurance laws is a necessary part of the social worker's equipment and increases her professional usefulness to the agency's clients and to the community. Life insurance, to be sure, is a technical subject. Its scientific and legal aspects are highly specialized fields which concern their respective specialists. Nevertheless, the elementary principles of life insurance and many of its most common legal aspects should be common knowledge acquired by the social worker as a means of understanding and treating the client's insurance problems that fall within the scope of social case work. In Missouri, for example, the social worker needs not only an elementary understanding of life insurance but also an understanding of which kinds of insurance have non-forfeiture values and how each is interpreted under the Missouri insurance laws.

3. In cases of illness and poor prognosis, the social worker is frequently justified by the health factors in making a careful verification of the condition of present insurance as well as lapsed policies. Experiences prove the advantage to the client of having adequate information concerning the value of his lapsed as well as his present policies. It is usually better to do this before the death occurs, or at least before other circumstances create an emotional atmosphere in the home which makes such verification difficult.

FLORA SLOCUM

ST. LOUIS PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN[1]

THE state is the ultimate expression of the community will and power, and is in duty bound both to protect and enforce the rights and duties of its children. It is in order, therefore, that we make occasional examination of the extent to which the state and community have developed within a general social work program, a program of modern child welfare (guaranteeing normal life and happiness to all children and affording protection to the physically, mentally, or socially handicapped child) to determine whether the state or community is adapting its child welfare program in this constantly changing world.

In such an examination it is important to consider what is a reasonable division of responsibility and services between public and private child-caring organizations, and what relationship should exist between them.

It would seem that because of absence of long-time community planning for child care and ill-defined relationship between public and private agencies

the majority of facilities existing for the care and treatment of handicapped children have grown up in a haphazard fashion. The appeal of the needy child himself has been so strong that those who have wished to help him have often provided facilities that dealt with his immediate problem and not with the causes of the problem or with other contributing factors.

Because in times past we have not given sufficient recognition to the fundamental

fact that the handicapped child is a part of a larger situation, of a family where illness, poverty, mental deficiency, neglect or delinquency may prevail, and of a

[1] In the preparation of this article the author has freely drawn upon the reports of the Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends (Wilfred S. Reynolds, chairman), and the Special Committee on State Supervision of Public and Private Institutions and Agencies (James H. Foster, chairman), of the Committee on State Departments Dealing with the Handicapped (Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, chairman), published in *Organizations for the Care of Handicapped Children, National, State, Local* (New York: Century Co., 1932).

community where economic or social inequality may be in evidence, the emphasis of private child welfare organizations has been largely on the care of children away from their own homes. As a result many child placing societies and a great variety of children's institutions have been established for the care of children separated from their families.[2]

As it is the purpose here to discuss the relationship between public and private organizations for the care of dependent and neglected children from the standpoint of the state welfare department, it becomes desirable to consider it from three distinct angles: (1) The state department as a supervisory agency having the legal power to inspect, license, incorporate, etc., the various child-welfare institutions and agencies, and to supervise and control child welfare activities generally. (2) The state giving direct care in state-owned institutions and through mothers' aid. (3) The state subsidizing, through tax funds, local private or public child-caring organizations.

EXTENT AND COST OF CHILD DEPENDENCY

In order to furnish a background to the present discussion it might be well to give a few figures showing the extent of child dependency in the United States, and the cost of caring for dependent and neglected children. I am estimating that there are at this moment probably more than 560,000 dependent and neglected children in the United States, 300,000 of whom are receiving various types of care under institutional auspices, and 260,000 children who are receiving care in their own homes through mothers' allowances. The total cost of care of dependent children in the United States in 1931 is estimated to be $114,000,000, of which $75,000,000 was spent on the care of children away from their own homes and $39,000,000 for the care of children in their own homes through mothers' allowances.

A recent study found that 58 per cent of the dependent children in the country as a whole were under institutional care, 19 per cent under boarding home care, and 23 per cent under free home care. Boarding home care was particularly emphasized in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Pennsylvania. The 1923 United States Census of Child-Caring Agencies revealed that of the children cared

[2] *Report of Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends.*

for away from home 20 per cent were under public auspices and 80 per cent under private auspices. There is considerable variation in the different states as to the relative extent to which public or private agencies may be providing care for dependent and neglected children. In Massachusetts in 1930 of about 25,000 children cared for away from their own homes and families 36 per cent were under public care and 64 per cent under private care. Of 35,000 dependent children reported recently by Illinois 42 per cent were cared for under public child-caring auspices and 58 per cent under private auspices. In New York State there were reported, in 1930, 32,554 dependent children cared for outside their own homes. Of these, 83 per cent were classified as public charges and 17 per cent as private charges.

The increasing use of the mothers' allowance plan may be illustrated by one or two examples. In 1921, 3,159 families and 11,146 children were supported by the Mothers' Assistance Fund of Pennsylvania, and the state appropriation for the two years 1920–21 amounted to $646,816. In 1931, there were 5,536 families and more than 16,000 children receiving relief and the 1930–31 biennium state appropriation amounted to $2,750,000. For the biennium 1932–33 the Pennsylvania Legislature made available $4,115,938.

In New Jersey in 1921, 5,428 children were receiving mothers' aid at a total cost of $391,000. In 1931, 13,031 children were cared for under the mothers' aid plan at a total cost of $1,752,000. In addition a large number of widows are receiving support under the Dependent Children's Act.

RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN STATE SUPERVISION

Some form of state supervision of child-caring institutions and agencies is provided by the statutes of all but three of our forty-eight states, with wide differences in the methods employed, staff requirements, and the results obtained:[3]

1. The periodical inspection and visitation of child-placing agencies and of child-caring institutions by the proper state authority is authorized or required in most of the states.[4]

[3] *Report of Committee on State Supervision of Public and Private Institutions.*

[4] C. A. Heisterman and F. R. Lyman, *Memorandum on Statutory Provisions for State Regulation of Private Child-Placing Agencies and Child-Caring Institutions* (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau, January, 1932).

2. The sanction or approval by the state public welfare authority is required before any child-placing agency may be granted a certificate of incorporation in sixteen states. In all but three of these states, such sanction or approval is also required in case of child-caring institutions which desire to incorporate.[4]

3. The annual licensing or certification of child-placing agencies by the state public welfare authority is required in thirty-one states.[4]

4. The licensing of child-caring institutions (other than child-placing agencies, boarding homes for infants, and day nurseries) usually by the social welfare authority, is required in thirty-one states.[4]

5. The licensing or certification of boarding homes is required in thirty states. In twenty-two of the twenty-four states in which licenses are issued by state public welfare authorities, these authorities also have the power of supervision and inspection of such homes.[5]

6. A license for the conduct of a maternity home is required in thirty-three states, usually by the state public welfare authorities.[6]

7. The importation of dependent children for the purpose of placing them in family homes is regulated by thirty-three states and eight of these states also regulate the exportation of children for this purpose.[7]

8. The submission of reports to the state licensing or supervisory authority at certain intervals or when required is provided for in nearly all of the states which license or supervise child-placing agencies and child-caring institutions.[8]

Relationships of far-reaching consequences are involved in any effective exercise of the state's supervisory powers by setting up and enforcing, through licensing or other form of direction or control, minimum standards of work so as to insure to children under institu-

[4] C. A. Heisterman and F. R. Lyman, *Memorandum on Statutory Provisions for State Regulation of Private Child-Placing Agencies and Child-Caring Institutions* (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau, January, 1932).

[5] C. A. Heisterman and F. R. Lyman, *Summary of Legislation of Boarding Homes for Children* (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau, January, 1932).

[6] C. A. Heisterman, *Summary Statement of Statutory Provisions for the Licensing of Maternity Homes* (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau, January, 1932).

[7] C. A. Heisterman, *Memorandum on Laws Relating to Interstate Placement of Dependent Children* (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau, January, 1932).

[8] See reference footnote 4.

tional care or in free or boarding foster homes proper care, education, and protection.

While the legal authority to supervise by inspection may be expressed in such phrases as "visit," "investigate," or "visit and inspect," the commonly accepted interpretation would seem to be that the state department, within the limitations established by law, has the authority to examine and study in such detail as it may find necessary the physical plant and the administration, the policies and the actual working of the institutions and agencies. It follows that, if inspection is to be more than the assembling of facts, there must be found means to translate the recommendations into action and to create relationships which will insure success.

Similarly, appropriate relations must be worked out by the state with county and municipal institutions and agencies even though they may differ in their legal status from those conducted under private auspices.

> But so far as the welfare of the children under their care is concerned, their work is essentially the same and the need and advantages of state supervision are no less apparent. The fact that these institutions are under public control increases rather than lessens the responsibility of the state towards them.[9]

In the exercise of the legal powers of the state department to license and to approve the incorporation of child-caring organizations, to exercise control, and to require the submission of current reports concerning services and finances, appropriate relationships likewise must be developed.

RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN MOTHERS' AID

It is quite apparent that certain modifications in relationships between public and private child-caring agencies are indicated in the increasing extent to which dependent children are cared for in their own homes; in the constantly enlarging scope of mothers' aid which expresses itself in an increase in maximum grants or determination of grants on the basis of a budget to fill the needs of the situation; in the raising of the age limit of dependent children to enable them to attain a desirable education; in the support of children incapacitated

[9] *Report of the Committee on State Supervision of Public and Private Institutions and Agencies.*

by physical infirmity during their entire minority; in the liberalization of property limitations owned by the mother seeking care; in the extension of the state equalization principle by differentiating among the counties on the basis of need in the allocation of funds; in the safeguards which are thrown around dependent children and mothers receiving public aid.

The Mothers' Assistance Fund of Pennsylvania, for example, considered as undesirable "income that involves overwork of mother or neglecting of the children, the loss of self-respect, or an activity deleterious to home life,"[10] and regards most charitable relief as an undesirable source of income.

> With the exception of aid for Jewish families charitable relief is difficult to obtain, and is apt to be uncertain, irregular and insecure, especially in amounts commensurate with the individual family needs. While aid from several charitable agencies is doubtless not so detrimental to the values of family life as are large budget deficits, overwork on the part of the mothers, and the premature employment of children, yet it is not in harmony with good social practice; and it is well known that intermittent and uncertain aid tends to demoralize the families affected, to discourage the independence and the self-respect which Mothers' Assistance aims to instill, and to provoke deception.[11]

Attention might be called to the attitude observed in Pennsylvania toward the policy of supplementing mothers' aid by private agencies:

> Both public and private relief agencies are more and more coming to think that the state should carry the entire responsibility for widows' families. Private family agencies are budgeting for their own needs, under the federation plan, in many cities, and are coming to feel that the state has no right to ask them to supplement a public grant out of private funds. On the other hand, overseers of the poor and other guardians of public funds feel in turn that since the state has assumed the responsibility for the care of widows' families and has provided a special state-and-county fund for it, they should not be asked to dip again into county funds for additional money.[12]

Interesting observations concerning the relationship that should exist between the state supervising authority of mothers' aid and the

[10] H. G. Tyson, *The Mothers' Assistance Fund in Pennsylvania* (Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, November, 1926).

[11] *Report of the Mothers' Assistance Fund to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania* (Department of Welfare, 1926).

[12] *Ibid.*

local administration have grown out of the Pennsylvania experience.

> The adoption of a policy affecting the administration of Mothers' Aid is not something imposed upon the county boards of the Mothers' Assistance Fund by the state office. It is generally arrived at through a mutual feeling on the part of the county boards and the state supervisors. It has been recognized that standards can be built up only through an understanding in the counties of constructive methods, a realization of the need for skilled service to families and the creation of a desire coming from within for growth and expansion and for service based upon a better understanding of the needs of the family and its individual members. This process is necessarily slow, but as it is built upon a foundation that is sound and it has proven its value, in the steady upward trend of methods of administration and standards of family supervision throughout the state.[13]

RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN STATE SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHILD-CARING ORGANIZATIONS

Equally far-reaching (and one authoritative social work group has called them perplexing) relationships arise out of the payment of tax funds for the support of private child-caring organizations and the control necessary to insure minimum standards of care.

The practice of appropriating from tax funds to private child-caring organizations in one form or another is widespread. Appropriation bills passed in 1931 in about twenty-five states carried provision for funds to be paid in lump sum or per capita payments to private agencies. State aid to private organizations has been specifically limited by constitutional provisions in about half of the states. Such provisions may prohibit grants or restrict them to nonsectarian organizations or to organizations providing services to special groups such as the physically handicapped, the delinquent, the orphaned, or the aged. Where there are constitutional provisions forbidding such payments in whole or in part by the state, legal authorization for payments from funds of county, city, or town may still be given.

In the appropriation of tax funds to private organizations in this country various practices may be found. The sources of tax funds, the basis upon which these funds are distributed to private organiza-

[13] *Report of the Mothers' Assistance Fund to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, 1930).

tions, and the underlying conceptions back of these practices all vary.[14] The following practices are found to exist:

1. Appropriations of tax funds made by state legislatures, or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state, directly to private organizations in lump sums.

2. Appropriations of tax funds by state legislatures, or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state, in the form of payments to private organizations based upon the number of children under care, and assigned to the custody of the private organization by some qualified authority. These are known as per capita payments of tax funds to private organizations.

3. Appropriations of tax funds by state legislatures or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to a state department or local department dealing with welfare matters, to be by that department distributed, under its own rules, to private organizations.

4. Appropriations of tax funds by the appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to private organizations, the amount being based upon a contractual arrangement for services to be rendered by the private organization to be made upon a time-period basis.

5. Appropriations of tax funds by the appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to private organizations for certain specified items of service such as workers' salaries, traveling expenses, clothing for children, and the like.

6. Provision for private funds to be expended by public agencies.

Since the system of state subsidies to private child-caring organizations was inaugurated, it has been accompanied with a great deal of "difference of opinion and confusion of thought" concerning the validity of such payments from public funds and the means to be used by the state in safeguarding monetary contributions. Within the last few decades a number of situations have arisen in various states and cities which have shown up the difficulties of securing equitable allocation of public funds to private institutions eager to participate. Remedies have been applied with varying success.

[14] *Report of Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends.*

As recently as 1923 the subsidy system in children's institutions in one state was characterized as "chaotic, disorganized and lacking in any reasoned and well-thought-out objective." It was found that appropriations

. . . . were made in increasingly large sums to certain children's agencies generally selected by chance and so far as numbers were concerned representing only a small minority of the total number of children's institutions and placing-out societies in operation and a very small proportion of the children cared for. Some localities have been helped to meet certain pressing immediate problems while other localities have been almost completely neglected. Public subsidies were granted to all children's agencies under sectarian control in clear violation of constitutional provisions. The money spent through a hit or miss collection of units has been pretty much wasted so far as achieving a wise and sound program of child welfare on the part of the state or the counties.[15]

When the problem of public payments for the care of the dependent and neglected child was studied by a special White House Conference Committee[16] it was of the opinion that

. . . . through such payments state or local governments have assisted private effort to undertake responsibility for children for whom the public might otherwise have had to make full provision. Unless the state had supported through public payments the efforts of private philanthopy, it is extremely doubtful whether the large resources now available for the care of dependent children could ever have been called into existence or could continue to be maintained.

This committee also pointed out, however, that

there is some danger that the private agency will expect the state to carry on an increasing financial burden and that public funds will be diverted from more needed objects.

One authority (Breckinridge) is of the opinion that the subsidy system will continue to create difficulties until we clearly define the purpose and object of the various forms of welfare organizations, formulate definite standards of care, and introduce "the scientific method that is based on study of the community needs and of the origin of those needs in social or industrial or political maladjustment."[17]

[15] *Report of the Commission Appointed To Study and Revise the Statutes of Pennsylvania Relating to Children, 1925.*

[16] *Report of Committee on Private Agencies. Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends.*

[17] S. P. Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

Because of the intricacy of the many financial problems presented by the state subsidies to private or public child-caring organizations, their widespread use and their influence on the development of future programs of child care, further studies are needed to clarify the relationships that should exist between child welfare organizations and agencies controlling public funds.

DESIRABLE RELATIONSHIPS

There probably would be no difficulty in establishing desirable relationships between the state department of welfare and public and private child-caring organizations, and between the two types of organizations themselves if certain cardinal principles adopted by the White House Conference are used as guideposts:[18]

1. To assure to every dependent and neglected child proper protection and support and opportunity to develop to his fullest capacity and to safeguard family life in so far as possible from social and economic disorders.

2. To assure to the child the needed care and individual service for as long a period as the need lasts, and the recognition of responsibility on the part of government and private philanthropy to provide sufficient funds to meet the needs.

3. To co-ordinate the standardized services of public and private child-caring agencies into a unified child welfare program.

The aim of the state department of welfare will thus be to develop a broad co-operative child-conservation program, to be sympathetic in their relation to public and private agencies and be fully mindful of their interests and aspirations.[19] As is pointed out by the Child Welfare League of America:[20]

> A well-equipped state department will be prepared to offer considerable technical advice and will be able to assist the child-caring organization in orienting

[18] Adapted from "Summary of Report of the Committee on National, State and Local Organizations for the Handicapped," *Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children* (New York: Century Co., 1932).

[19] C. V. Williams, "Cooperation Between the Children's Agency and Other Community Resources," *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 136, 1926).

[20] *Standards for Institutions Caring for Dependent Children* (Child Welfare League of America, 1932).

its program within the social service program of the state and the county or city in which the organization is located. It has a great deal to offer children's agencies in the way of education and stimulation of interest in the larger aspects of child welfare and related fields of social welfare.

These obligations are coming to be generally recognized by the state welfare departments. The children's division of one state department, for example, announces that the principles upon which it has been trying to carry on its service are based upon a drawing together of the forward-looking leadership in the field of private and public child-caring endeavors, an educational type of supervision which will procure for each individual child-caring organization the particular help it may need to achieve its greatest service, and to point out the relation of community social work problems to the child welfare activities.[21]

A special White House Conference Committee[22] considered it important that the division of responsibility for service between public and private child-caring organizations be clearly defined for the benefit of a joint accomplishment:

> The problem of the relationship between public and private service has been worked out differently in almost every state in the Union, but seems, fundamentally, to rest on the premise that the private agency shall have the fullest opportunity of development consistent with the establishment and maintenance of high standards of work.[22]

This committee recognized that uniform rules cannot be drawn up as to the respective part public and private services to children should play in each community:

> . . . . since the needs of the communities are so various. Which functions each service shall assume should be decided in each case by the services themselves, and should be based on broad considerations of available tax resources and the advancement of child welfare within the particular community.[22]

With a pronounced tendency toward public care for dependent and neglected children observable in recent years, it is interesting to note the observation of the Committee that "public authorities should undertake only those responsibilities which cannot satisfac-

[21] *Fifth Biennial Report of the Pennsylvania Secretary of Welfare, 1929–1930.*

[22] *Report of the Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends.*

torily be fulfilled by citizens themselves through their own private efforts." It is felt that "if the states were to assume exclusive responsibility for any form of social work, the work would lose the personal service, now freely given, of a large number of its citizens, and large financial resources now available to private social agencies would rapidly dry up."[22]

A group of welfare administrators[23] who have been studying the allocation between public and private services for dependent and neglected children suggests the following division:

I. *Private service* should concern itself principally with:
   1. *Temporary care,* either for shelter or short-time service looking forward to the child's return to his own family or near relatives.
   2. *Experimental or demonstration service,* as for example, diagnostic study home service, boarding home care of mental-health problems, or of delinquent children in communities where the methods are new and not yet thoroughly accepted by public opinion, and many other services either quite new or new to the community in question.
   3. *Co-operative service,* which implies that it is done at the request or with the consent of the parent, guardian, or custodian of the child and with legal coercion to be used only when the child's health and welfare are menaced.
   4. *Service to those children being either not dependent or only partially dependent,* the parent, guardian or custodian being encouraged to refund such part of the expense of care and service as he well can and being required to do so when amply able.

II. *Public service* should provide:
   1. *Long-time care,* perhaps principally because of the heavy financial load involved but also because of the greater continuity of service.
   2. *Service on well-established lines,* proved useful in many instances by private service at a previous time as, for example, child-guidance clinics, started privately but now being developed by public service and funds.
   3. *Service requiring a measure of control,* away from the control of his family, the child in most instances when permanent commitment is necessary being committed to a public department where such exists rather than to private agencies.
   4. *Care of full dependents,* in part because of cost, but also because the breakdown of the child's family often requires his establishment in another family unit.

[23] *Report of the Committee on Correlation of Public Children's Activities with Private Children's Activities* (Arthur A. Guild, Chairman). "The Association of Community Chests and Councils," New York, 1931.

The work for neglected children was considered to be essentially a public service and

> . . . . should preferably therefore be undertaken by that unit of government that works outside of the court but resorts to it for legal sanction when it becomes necessary. Private service with this group of children may also become a demonstration of good work for the care of neglected children in order to promote public service or may supplement public service in certain special cases.

FACTORS INFLUENCING TRENDS IN RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship between public and private child-caring organizations which are likely to obtain in the near future will be largely influenced by the trends in the modern public welfare movement which is assuming an increasingly important rôle in the fabric of American life, in the accelerated rate of transfer of private social work activities to public agencies, in the granting to the central, state-supervisory authorities increasingly broader legal powers in controlling the activities of public as well as private child-caring organizations, in the assumption of aggressive leadership by the state department of welfare in developing a co-ordinating social welfare program for the state as a whole.

Some of the trends in the care of dependent and neglected children which are discernible today and the influence which they are likely to exercise upon the relations between public and private child-caring organizations may be outlined as follows:[24]

1. *Growing recognition that there be available in every community a comprehensive service for all children in need of care*, in which the various types of child care are utilized in a balanced plan. The institution, which has held a dominating place in the field of child care in the past, will integrate its work in the general program, and agencies and institutions with long histories of care given to certain types of children will modify their methods and functions to meet changing needs. Some special interests which have hitherto maintained a policy of isolation from community activities will join in group planning.

The possibility is likely to be considered of extending state supervision to exercise certain control over the intake of child-caring institutions and agencies by setting up standards of admission and by re-

[24] For full discussion see *Report of the Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies, and Their Trends.*

quiring careful inquiry and complete record of the facts in each case, so as to form judgment as to compliance with its standards.

The services of private and public child-caring organizations will be welded together and related functionally to services in other fields through the work of central community funds, central councils of social agencies, county welfare boards, and state boards and departments of welfare. Through fact-finding studies and special surveys, and through continuous research and collection of data of fundamental importance, the child welfare program will be materially enhanced.

2. *Fuller understanding of the importance of considering a large proportion of children cared for away from their families as part of a family problem,* and the application of family case-work methods in efforts to adjust the home situation to enable the child to be cared for in his own home.

This means the availability of professional case-work service in deciding to remove a child from his home and for the return of the child to his own family as soon as it may be done wisely, the increasing use of social case-work service by municipal or county departments or agents charged with administering public relief, and the development of co-operative relationships with private family agencies in the work of preventing family breakdown.

3. *Increasing recognition of public responsibility for the care and support of dependent and neglected children* and of the desirability of local public provisions for their care.

The growth of county child welfare programs fostered by the state has been one of the most significant aspects of this development. State grants in aid, systems of state equalization of welfare funds, and the assistance of the state department in obtaining qualified case workers, will make it possible for many counties, even the most rural, to provide constructive care to children in need. The development of county welfare activities and the emphasis on local responsibility for care are likely to exert wide influence on the policies and the work of state departments and private agencies doing child placing throughout the state.

4. *Increasingly more effective state supervision of local public and private child-caring organizations by setting up* and enforcing through

its inspection, licensing, incorporation powers, or other forms of direction or control, minimum standards of work, and a broadening of the services of child-caring organizations to provide for each child the particular treatment he requires—institutional, aid of children in their own homes, or board in foster homes.

5. *The application of methods insuring an equitable distribution of state funds to local public or private child-caring organizations* under principles which include:[25] (*a*) The state welfare department or division is given authority to decide under what conditions a child is properly dependent upon the state, prescribe the manner in which the needs of the individual child should be met, and when public care is to terminate. The state's aid will be made available, upon substantially equal terms, to all its children in the same circumstances, no matter where they live. (*b*) The state supervisory authority is given responsibility for distribution of funds at its discretion, in amounts which will properly compensate child-caring agencies for the care of state wards, and aid will be granted at an equitable and uniform rate to agencies rendering substantially the same service. Provision may properly be made for suitable compensation for additional service above this minimum, within reasonable limits. (*c*) The state's aid will be granted only to agencies which maintain a reasonable standard of plant, equipment, and quality of service, determined after careful inspection, and which keep social and financial records on prescribed forms and submit such reports as may be requested.

6. *Increasing appreciation of the preventive aspects of child welfare work*, through the inauguration of measures designed to stabilize economic and social life so that to some degree dependency may be prevented and the mantle of protection thrown around families and children unable to stand up unaided under the pressure of life.

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[25] See S. P. Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); Arlien Johnson, *Public Policy and Private Charities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Kenneth L. M. Pray, "A Survey of the Fiscal Policies of the State Subsidies to Private Charitable Institutions by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," *A Report to the Citizens' Committee on the Finances of the State of Pennsylvania, Appointed by Gifford Pinchot* (December, 1922); and Rev. James Fogarty, *State Aid in Several Forms of Public Relief* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1932).

CUSTODY OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS ARE DIVORCED OR SEPARATED

THE question of proper care for children of divorced parents has been a very disturbing problem not only to social workers but to judges in courts exercising divorce jurisdiction and even to the lawyers concerned with the rights of the parents. The experience in a single court (Circuit Court of Portland, Oregon) may be useful to those who are interested in certain policies for guidance that have been followed in awarding the custody of children whose parents are being divorced or separated.

The jurisdiction of the Portland court includes divorce cases, cases of dependent and delinquent children, adoptions, feeble-mindedness where children are concerned, changes of names, and issuance of permits for children to appear in public entertainments—doubtless entitling the court to classification as a family court. All the cases, except in proceedings to change names and the issuance of permits, are of most serious nature. Overtowering all the rest in far-reaching effects and responsibility are those cases where the court is called upon by permanent commitment to sever forever the ties between parents and children. Strangely, however, these cases are not the ones that arouse the most rebellious reactions from the parents concerned. That distinction falls to those cases where parents are divorced or separated and the court is called upon to award the custody of their children to one parent or the other, or sometimes to a third party when the best interests of the child seem to lie in that direction. In nearly every case of this type where there is serious dissatisfaction with the court's rulings, there is found to exist extreme bitterness of parents toward each other. Does experience in the two types of cases referred to tend to prove that parents hostile to each other will with more tolerance see their children taken completely and forever from them than have them given to one or the other of the hating parents?

In the wake of a decision disappointing to one or both parents there frequently follow bitter and sometimes vexatious and per-

sistent efforts to discredit the court in the eyes of the community. These efforts ordinarily take about the same course: an appeal to the press to expose the alleged rank injustice of the court and its ruling, or to influence or intimidate the court by enlisting the interest of some person of reputed political influence, or some prominent pastor, or arousing some club or lodge or the head thereof. The story related by the aggrieved party to excite interest is never complete, always partisan, and frequently a mere bunch of fabrication or simply an outpouring of bitter emotion. However, if the person applied to undertakes the requested mission to the court, he comes with the belief, or at least with the suspicion, that the court has committed a grave error in rendering the decision complained of. The court may with propriety refuse an audience to such callers, but this is hardly good social policy. True, an aggrieved party may appeal to a higher court, but usually the expense of an appeal is a bar to that course. A review of the facts in the case by a probation officer usually satisfies the inquirer of the probable correctness of the court's ruling. It would be a simple matter if there were only one of such callers, but usually there are several, oftentimes many, with regard to the same case.

From an experience covering four years in deciding these difficult and vexatious problems, the Portland court has evolved a few rules or policies which are now being given out to other courts, to the bar, to social workers, and to others interested in child welfare, inviting in return constructive suggestions and criticisms. A dissatisfied party or his adherent is usually given a copy of these rules, which he is requested to read. Their justice is usually readily conceded. Then if the probation officer can show that the facts in the case under discussion bring it within one of the rules listed, the court's decision must be sustained in the mind of the inquirer. The ten rules listed will ordinarily cover the points to be considered in any custodial situation. They have been of much help to this court in rendering decisions and also in satisfying disappointed parties, and in educating public opinion, which always very properly demands that the best interests of the unfortunate children of separated or divorced parents shall be safeguarded as far as humanly possible. The rules or policies under discussion are as follows:

1. In awarding custody, the welfare of the child is always the paramount consideration. He should always have that available environment which will best promote his development and happiness. The interest and affection of both parents for the child should be maintained unabated and stimulated to the fullest extent. To this end it is desirable and should be possible for the parent not having custody to visit the child and have the child with him at reasonable times; and unless some contrary reason appears, such parent should have the child during a portion or possibly all of the usual vacation period.
2. Every child should, if possible, be awarded to one of its parents, and when there is more than one child the children should ordinarily be kept together.
3. Every child of tender years should be awarded to its mother unless she is grossly immoral or subjects her child to abuse or gross neglect, provided she is in other respects at least a fairly good parent.
4. Where a father consistently supports his child (awarded to another), he should be entitled to a portion of his child's time, unless it definitely appears that such arrangement would be to the child's detriment; but no parent should be denied the fullest possible parental privileges by reason alone of excusable failure to support.
5. When a child of tender years is awarded to the father, the court should have assurance that some competent woman is in charge of its physical wants, affording as nearly as possible the same care and affection that a mother should give.
6. When custody can be given to neither parent, if suitable relatives can be found, capable and willing to assume responsibility, custody should be awarded to them.
7. If neither parent nor relatives are competent, then the most satisfactory foster home available should be awarded the custody.
8. Where there is extreme and constant discord between parents, interfering seriously with the child's happiness and development, the child should be placed in a neutral home, with such rights of visitations to the parents as the situation may warrant.

9. Where visitation cannot be permitted to the parents, or either of them, for a considerable period of time, for reasons stated in Paragraph 8, the matter of placing the child for adoption should then be given serious consideration.
10. Neither parent should be permitted to poison a child's mind against the other parent, and if such conduct is persisted in after receiving warning from the court, the offending parent should be excluded from contacting the child.

CLARENCE H. GILBERT, *Judge*

CIRCUIT COURT OF OREGON
PORTLAND, OREGON

SOURCE MATERIALS

SOME TESTIMONY BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

IN THE June number of the *Review* an extract from the memorandum submitted by Mrs. Sidney Webb to the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance was published together with some extracts from her oral testimony before the Commission. In view of the importance of this subject, some further documents contributed by two other distinguished witnesses before the Commission are published herewith. These are (1) an extract from a memorandum presented by Sir William Beveridge;[1] (2) the memorandum by Mr. Ronald C. Davison.[2]

MEMORANDUM BY SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE[3]

. . . . Compulsory Unemployment Insurance was introduced in 1911, primarily as a means of extending something like the trade union system to unskilled and unorganized workmen. It was meant to provide a benefit strictly limited in duration, to men whose eligibility for benefits could be determined by some simple automatic test, and under rules designed to interest workpeople and employers alike in reducing unemployment and avoiding unnecessary claims. This last motive was, indeed, one of the main reasons for requiring contributions from employers; the contributions would vary from time to time with the rate of unemployment. The contribution from the State was justified partly as an expression of the

[1] Sir William Beveridge is well known in this country as the author of one of the first authoritative books on the subject of unemployment—*Unemployment; a Problem of Industry* (London & New York: Longmans, Green, 1909; new edition, 1930). He later became the first director of the national system of labor exchanges in Great Britain. In more recent years he has been the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Space does not permit us to print the interesting oral testimony which followed the presentation of this memorandum.

[2] Mr. Davison is also well known in this country as the author of one of the best recent books on unemployment—*The Unemployed, Old Policies and New* (London & New York: Longmans, Green, 1929), reviewed in this *Review*, IV, 517.

[3] From *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Gt. Britain Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance* (1930–1932), pp. 721–23 (nineteenth day, Tuesday, March 31, 1931).

interest of the State in reducing distress through unemployment, partly as a means of equalizing risks and contributions. The scheme was introduced at first experimentally for a few trades, those where systematic short time was customary (such as cotton and coal) being deliberately excluded; unemployed benefit was regarded as an alternative to organized short time, not as a subsidy in aid of it. The trades insured at the outset included also, by design, hardly any women, so that the problem of insurance of women after marriage did not arise.

The period for which benefit could be drawn was limited in two ways. It might not exceed a specified number of weeks (originally 15, later 26 weeks) in twelve months. It might not for an individual be more than one week of benefit for every five (later six) contributions paid by him. Limitation of the period for which benefit could be drawn was not dictated solely or even mainly by actuarial considerations; it was in fact at that time impossible to estimate how much the claims on the insurance fund would be cut down by either the 15 weeks rule or the 1 in 5 rule. The main principle underlying limitation of benefit was that, though a weekly allowance given as of right without conditions was a suitable means of dealing with temporary unemployment—of tiding over a bad time men who needed nothing more than tiding over till in the normal course they would recover work in their own trades at their former wages —it was not an appropriate measure for chronic unemployment.

The limitation of benefit to one week for every five contributions had several purposes. It appeared the simplest way of defining eligibility for benefit and protecting the scheme against uninsurable risks. It emphasised the contractual nature of the scheme, adjusting the extent of protection given to the amount of premiums paid. It gave the workman an incentive to avoid unnecessary claims, if he were not in need, and keep his rights intact for a rainy day.

The belief that it was important to interest workpeople and employers alike in saving the insurance fund from avoidable claims dominated the scheme of 1911. Those responsible for pressing forward insurance at that time were well aware of the danger that provision for unemployment might tend to bring about unemployment—might affect the readiness of workpeople to move to new trades and new districts, might relax efforts by employers to maintain an even flow of employment, might make for excessive rigidity of wage rates. Provision for unemployment, accordingly, through insurance, was accompanied by a number of measures designed to reward and so to encourage the prevention of unemployment. The insurance scheme was associated with a labour exchange system established

before it, and which it was hoped that employers would come to treat as their main means of recruiting labour; the exchanges were to be in a position to test the genuineness of unemployment by knowing all the jobs available. A rebate of contributions was allowed to employers giving regular employment. A refund of contributions was made at the age of 60 to workmen who had not drawn benefit. The insurance fund was to be self-supporting, and the scope of State help in meeting deficits was rigidly limited. Accounts were to be kept in such a way as to show how the separate trades were paying in and drawing out, and it was contemplated that when the facts were known there should be different contributions for trades with high and with low unemployment respectively.

It was recognised, of course, that limitation of the period of benefit meant that men might exhaust their rights to benefit before they recovered employment—in other words, that the insurance scheme would not cover all unemployment. It was never meant to do so. It was meant to be accompanied by a reform of the Poor Law, making provision outside insurance—on the basis of need rather than of contractual right—for those who exhausted their insurance rights. Compulsory unemployment insurance was conceived only as a first line of defence against distress through unemployment, an extension of admirable pioneer work done in this field by the trade unions.

The present system bears no resemblance at all either to the practice of trade unions or to the scheme of 1911 that was meant as an extension of it. Every important idea in either has gone by the board. The benefit has been made unlimited in time and practically divorced from the payment of contributions; it has become neither insurance nor a spreading of wages but out-relief financed mainly by a tax on employment. The insurance fund has become indistinguishable from the national exchequer. All interest of employer or of workpeople in reducing unemployment has gone; glaringly the scheme has become in many cases a means of subsidising casual industries and insufficient wages. In the past, I, like other defenders of unemployment insurance, have often had occasion to speak of "insurance popularly miscalled the dole." Today I am afraid that it might be truer to speak of "the dole officially miscalled insurance."

The disintegration of the insurance system is not due solely or mainly to the Act of 1930, passed by the present Government. The first step was taken when, in 1920, the system introduced in 1911 for a few selected trades was applied practically without change to all trades, no use being made of the power to exclude from the general scheme and deal by special schemes with casual occupations like dock labour or short-time industries,

like cotton and coal. The second and decisive step was taken when by the Act of 1927 benefit was made unlimited in duration and, for a "transitional" period, nearly independent of any payment of contributions. The transitional provisions were extended by an Act of 1929. The Act of 1930 has simply carried to its final stage the process of merging insurance in indiscriminate relief of the able-bodied, by a further extension of transitional provisions and by abolishing the psychological requirement that the applicant should be genuinely seeking employment.

The main problem now is not that of finding an actuarial basis for the scheme as it stands. The objection to unlimited benefit given as of right is not simply or mainly that of expense, but (*a*) that money payments without conditions are an inadequate and demoralising way of dealing with prolonged unemployment, and (*b*) that the availability of such payments encourages unemployment. There would be little sense in trying to find an actuarial basis for fire insurance in a country with no fire engines and no penalties for arson.

The essential evil of the present scheme is that it treats alike things which are unlike—the temporary unemployment of the regular worker thrown out by seasonal or cyclical depression, the permanent loss of their old employment by men whose trades have declined or moved, the chronic underemployment of the dock labourer, the loss of earnings by the short-time worker, the leisure of the married woman for whom earning has become incidental, the long decay of men ageing before their time. The remedy must lie in restoring discrimination and treating differing cases by different methods. This does not mean that the whole problem of unemployment should be divided as between central and local authorities, that part should be dealt with by the Ministry of Labour and part relegated to local bodies for Public Assistance. Mrs. Sidney Webb and the Minority of the Poor Law Commission of 1906 were, I believe, right in urging a single central authority for dealing with the Unemployed at all stages. But it is essential to recognize that there are different stages calling for differing treatment. Broadly we have to distinguish three classes:

I. Those who are unemployed with a presumption that within a reasonable period (i.e., one not too long to cause demoralisation through idleness) they will be able to find work again in their own trades and places.

II. Those who are unemployed and apparently able and desiring to work, but with a presumption that they will not within a reasonable period as defined above find work again in their own trades and places.

III. Those who though of working age are apparently either unfit to work or unwilling to work.

The appropriate provision for the first class is unemployment insurance, as conceived in the schemes of 1911 and 1920—a weekly payment, given as of right, for a limited period, in respect of contributions, from a fund required to be self-supporting. All these people need is a spreading of their wages over good and bad time, "tiding over" till work returns to them on substantially their former terms. So long as the principle is maintained that the insurance fund, with a fixed contribution from the State, must be self-supporting, the rate and period of benefit and the terms on which it is drawn can all be generous. The rules defining continuity of unemployment, however, must be such as to prevent benefit from becoming a subsidy to chronic underemployment or short-time. Moreover, though insurance in one form or another should cover all industrial occupations, at least, and so far as possible, with uniform benefits, there should be some means of adjusting premiums to risks, not only in the scheme as a whole (which will be secured by making it self-supporting as a whole), but as among industries and individuals. Something will be done in this direction, if the maximum benefit that can be drawn by any individual is limited by reference to his contributions. The following further suggestions are submitted for examination:

First, the Minister of Labour might be empowered to schedule industries as having "excessive unemployment," scheduling would mean in all cases that engagement of labour had to take place through or under supervision of the labour exchanges (so that recruiting of fresh labour in a presumably overcrowded industry would be controlled as it now is in coalmining). Where it appeared that the excessive unemployment was a normal condition of the industry, e.g., due to casual employment, scheduling would have the further effect of modifying the insurance scheme in relation to that industry, either cutting them out altogether and making a special scheme to fit their peculiar condition (e.g., with dock labour) or simply increasing their contribution.

Second, part of the money required might be raised by a tax on dismissals in place of raising it all as now by a tax on employment. The employer besides affixing an insurance stamp for each week of employment (say 1*s.*) and deducting part from wages, would put on a special stamp (say 5*s.*) whenever for any reason a man left his employment in such a way as to qualify for benefit. It would be easy to make exceptions for men engaged exceptionally for short periods (particularly if this were done through an exchange) and thus to avoid discouraging such employment.

On the other hand, the tax on dismissals, originally proposed by the Poor Law Commission of 1906, under the name of an "employment termination due" would automatically increase the contributions of industries and employers making a practice of irregular labour. Arguments can be advanced against this suggestion of a tax on dismissals, but on the whole I think its advantages would be found in practice to outweigh any disadvantages.

The principle of the refund of surplus contributions at 60 embodied in the original scheme might be re-introduced in an improved form by providing that any man who at 60 had any contributions to his credit might be allowed to retire voluntarily on a small pension, say 10s. a week in place of working at all.

These suggestions are made only as typical of many others that might be considered, having the general object of adjusting insurance premiums to risks. Such adjustment is desirable, not merely or mainly on grounds of equity, but in order to enlist the interest of employers and workpeople on behalf of the insurance fund, in place of uniting them as at present, in more or less open conspiracy against it.

The essence of the insurance system as described above being the giving of definite rights for a definite period, provision must be made for those who exhaust their rights to insurance benefit. So long as they remain *prima facie* able to work and desiring to work, they should be treated as an industrial rather than a social problem, by a central rather than a local authority, that is to say, either by the Ministry of Labour or (preferably) a statutory commission supervised by the Ministry. The fact, however, that they have exhausted their claim on the insurance fund sets up a presumption that they may not be able to recover work on their former terms; their long unemployment makes it certain that further unemployment without occupation of any kind will bring demoralisation. For both reasons something other than mere "tiding over" by insurance is required. The relief of these men should be a matter, not of contractual right enforced by quasi-legal process before an Umpire, but of need, judged by the administering authority, and would be subject to conditions imposed by the authority; the necessity of side-tracking detailed Parliamentary scrutiny of the action taken in individual cases makes it desirable that this authority should be a commission with statutory powers, and not a Minister directly responsible to Parliament. The recipient of relief would not be entitled, as under insurance, to hold out for substantially his former wages and former type of work, but would be required to take any work in any place judged suitable for him by the administering authority. He

might be required as a condition of relief to enter a training establishment or otherwise have his time or thoughts occupied. He might, in the discretion of the authority, be relieved either in money or in kind. He would, however, be treated as still part of the industrial army, and be relieved, without loss of civil rights, with the aim of restoring him to employment and insurance. If it became clear that through infirmity he was never likely to recover employment, or if he failed to accept suitable work or to comply with the conditions of relief, he would become a social rather than an industrial problem. He would be passed on, in the first case, to the local Public Assistance Authority as no longer able-bodied; in the second case, to whatever authority was appointed to deal, either in detention colonies or under other stringent conditions, with men of proved unwillingness for work.

The essence of this proposal is that, up to the point when men prove themselves unemployable (whether through physical infirmity or character) they shall be dealt with by a central industrial authority, but in two sections—insurance and relief. Both sections might, indeed, be entrusted to a single Statutory Commission working under the supervision of the Minister of Labour. For one side of its work, the Commission would take over the Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. For the relief side it would have local officers forming a separate organization and housed in separate buildings. It would not, I think, need for the two branches together a larger organisation than for unemployment insurance alone.

The separation of relief for prolonged unemployment from insurance for tiding over is proposed here as the only way of securing appropriate differing treatment for differing problems. The proposal does not imply a view that those who suffer prolonged unemployment and run out of insurance are always themselves to blame for their misfortunes. On the contrary, they may be the victims either of large economic movements almost beyond human control (such as those which had led to the decay of coal mining in certain districts of Britain) or of a policy of rigid money wages in face of falling prices pursued by trade unions or sanctioned by public opinion. But this does not make a benefit claimable as of right so long as they are unemployed an appropriate remedy for their case. The ruined mining areas need treatment altogether different from perpetual doles. The practicability of the scheme suggested above, involving both generous insurance, based on need and subject to conditions for those who run through insurance, depends upon getting back one way or another to the position existing before the war, when the trade unions felt some re-

sponsibility both for wage policy and for the unemployment which a policy of rigid wages might in certain conditions cause. A scheme either of insurance or of relief which makes leaders of industry—whether employers or trade unionists—careless as to the creation of unemployment is a social danger of the first magnitude.

20th March, 1931.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. R. C. DAVISON[4]

The need of a general system of unemployment relief

The memorandum submitted in evidence to the Royal Commission by the Trades Union Congress General Council sets out the case for a general system of unemployment relief for all persons who are out of employment, but are capable of and available for work. The Council show that it has not been found possible to secure this inclusive scheme of unemployment benefits on a contributory insurance basis and that the attempt to manipulate and adapt the scheme of 1920 has broken down both financially and administratively. Although the Council's constructive proposals seem to be impracticable, especially on the financial side, there is no doubt that they lay the emphasis in the right place in directing attention to the primary need of an acceptable, universal and non-contributory scheme of relief as the basis of our unemployment policy. No lasting reform of our present methods is possible without it.

Admittedly the Poor Law has always provided a form of free unemployment relief, but, rightly or wrongly, it has for many years been condemned as an unacceptable method in this country. Not even in its new form of public assistance has it been regarded as the appropriate standby for all the unemployed who exhaust their contributory right to benefit. Every government has made it a cardinal point of policy to expand and use the insurance scheme instead.

The stages by which this policy has led to the present confusion of state donation with contributory benefits are well known, and one of the questions for the future is whether contributory insurance can be re-established on a sound footing. But whether it is re-created or not, there must clearly be a more flexible, universal and recognised provision or network of provisions for the relief of unemployment. Nothing less than a new industrial and social service seems to be required.

[4] From *Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Gt. Britain Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance*, Part VIII, Memorandum Received with Particular Reference to Arrangements (Other than Insurance) for Able-Bodied Unemployed Workers (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1932), pp. 505–8.

Definition

What should be the range and types of unemployment with which the secondary scheme will necessarily be concerned? The assumption is made in this memorandum that a national insurance scheme will still be the first line of defence. It will be on a contributory footing and will, for the majority of workers, be sufficient to tide them over the unavoidable interruptions of their wage-earning lives. Arithmetical restrictions must be imposed on the duration of all claims, and, while the arithmetic may have to be varied from time to time, either in the interests of contributors or in the interests of solvency, the general basis of the reformed scheme should be fixed for a number of years.

This is not the place to discuss the nice adjustment of the contributory method so as to discourage or prevent the anomalies and abuses which are known to have occurred under the lax provisions of the existing Acts, but reference must be made to one innovation which, both as a measure of justice to insured persons and as an important means of lightening the burden of the secondary scheme of relief, may commend itself to the Commission. If possible, a portion of the Unemployment Fund should be set aside annually for a new class of benefits, the object of which would be to meet the case of a steady contributor, who falls into chronic unemployment at the age of 55 or 60. For such a man (or woman) the duration limits of benefit should be relaxed so that he may be tided over as long a period as necessary, perhaps at a 10s rate, until he reaches pensionable age at 65.

There is good ground for believing that a reformed scheme on these general lines would be well suited to the circumstances of something like 80 per cent. of the insured population. Even in a run of bad years some will escape unemployment and, among the others, their individual spells on benefit will be short in relation to their contributory employment. For the remaining 20 per cent. of workers in insured trades the scheme would only cover part of their unemployment, but it would be a considerable help.

The general argument here is that a sound contributory insurance scheme, which gives some security to the vast majority of the active labour force, must still be regarded for the future as a permanent part of the industrial equipment of Great Britain. The fact, however, must be faced, that, when a long-lasting depression sets in, the value of the scheme will be less in relation to the needs of the moment. There must be some other more flexible and universal system of unemployment relief to back it.

What the secondary relief scheme will have to deal with is, primarily,

the remainder of the insured unemployed, who will be drawn from the less fortunate 20 per cent. of workers and whose spells of unemployment will have amounted to a third, a half, or even the whole of their working days in the course of a year or two years. Besides insured persons who have exhausted or have never acquired benefit rights under the reformed rules, there will be some unemployed persons who have never been insured. Workers on their own account, share fishermen or persons employed in agriculture or other excepted trades, should all be eligible for assistance under a truly national plan of unemployment relief. Thus, to all intents and purposes, a system of free maintenance and treatment would be set up, which would unify the existing dualism of transitional benefit paid by the Ministry of Labour and out-relief given by the Public Assistance Authorities in so far as it covers the able-bodied. The only persons to be excluded on principle (that is, apart from temporary disqualifications and penalties) would be those who had to be regarded as having passed out of the field of industrial employment. The definition and treatment of the last-mentioned class is a problem of peculiar importance and difficulty, which is discussed on pages 671–73 below.

Conditions of a scheme of free unemployment donation

It is suggested that the service to be rendered to employable persons by a non-contributory basic scheme must satisfy the following conditions:

1. The help provided must be of two kinds. Maintenance must come first, but it must, so far as practicable, be associated with active measures for preserving the employment value of the labour reserve, so that they do not fall into the lower category of those who are permanently below the standard required for regular employment.
2. On the social side, there should be close collaboration with the ordinary social services of the local authorities. Such authorities have at their command a vast equipment of health, educational and other remedial services which are likely to be useful. And the fact that they also administer public assistance is a reason for, rather than against, their participation in this new kind of service for the unemployed man. All the needs and emergencies of life for which local authorities now cater may be found to exist in the household of the same unemployed man and the relief of any or all of these needs may vitally affect this restitution to independence.
3. On the industrial side there must be no divorce from the national industrial authority—that is the Ministry of Labour with its Employment Exchanges, its facilities for training, aided migration and expert knowledge of labour requirements.

The rates of maintenance

The provision of subsistence is not the only or the most constructive way in which the new unemployment service may help its clients. But, for the majority of applicants, the first question will be: What contribution to their maintenance is to be made out of public funds? On the face of it the question answers itself. The provision must be according to the needs of the individual, varying from little or nothing in the case of a young person living at home, to a considerable weekly sum in the case of a family with three or four dependent children. But, unfortunately, for historical reasons, a prejudice has grown up in this country against any official enquiry into the means of working people. In other countries, such as Germany, investigation and assessment of relief seem to be taken as a matter of course by the unemployed who exhaust insurance benefits and, even in Great Britain, those citizens who possess £250 a year and over seem to be resigned to the annual obligation to reveal their resources.

None the less, it is largely because of this prejudice that for the last three years, this country has tolerated, as an emergency expedient, the anomaly of paying benefits to some millions of persons who, to all intents, were non-contributors and of paying those benefits at the same fixed rates as to contributors with "fully paid-up policies" under the insurance scheme. Practically all that was required of the non-insured section, in order to establish their legal right to benefit, was that they should satisfy a rudimentary test of non-employment and of availability for work.

The expedient has had nothing to recommend it, except its simplicity. It is now generally condemned and the truth is beginning to be realised that the rights of workpeople to free benefits at fixed rates can never be properly defined in terms of non-employment alone. If there are no contributory checks and limits of duration, there must be some test of means or needs. Willingness to take employment, if offered, is not enough.

In any case to continue indefinitely *the policy of adding equal doles to unequal incomes* offends against common sense and against the principles of careful administration. Certainly it should make no appeal to those who accept the precept: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need."

And that the resources or incomes do vary widely between individuals of like responsibilities needs no arguments. Perhaps the most recent proof of it was adduced by the enquiry[5] which the Royal Commission instituted into the personal circumstances of a sample of unemployed persons who,

[5] Appendixes to Minutes of Evidence: Part III.

being disallowed under the rules, had been compelled to make shift, without recourse to the weekly payment of benefit.

One feature, therefore, of the new kind of free benefit or donation must clearly be an enquiry into the means of each individual who applies for it. The T.U.C. are at present hostile to this basis, though, in reality, it is essential to their own national scheme of relief, but they already agree that there should be a test of earnings or income in the case of short-time workers and partially unemployed persons, and their objection may conceivably be directed more against the present Poor Law, than against the principle of ascertaining means.

Such a test is, indeed, the only way of avoiding injustices, as well as of applying elementary safeguards. It must avoid deterrence on the one hand, and, on the other hand, must not discourage the spirit of self-dependence which makes private resources go as far as they can. Among those for whom the new service must expect to cater will be many varieties of unemployed persons who are far from being destitute of resources:

1. Some will be single men and single women, most of whom live with relatives, who can either keep them or at least contribute to their support.
2. Some will be married women, who have husbands in employment or on benefit plus dependents' allowances.
3. Others will be married men, whose wives are at work or who have wage-earning sons and daughters at home to help the family budget.
4. Others, again, will be persons in receipt of fixed incomes or pensions which, at least, provide part of their subsistence.

Of the above categories, Nos. (1) and (2) include the great majority of individuals in their class, while Nos. (3) and (4) cover only minorities.

From this it appears that maintenance involves the distribution of relief (in cash, not in kind as under the Poor Law) to (*a*) selected applicants of classes (1) and (2) at rates varying according to circumstances; (*b*) to the majority, but not quite all, of applicants who are married men with one or more dependants.

The question of what sources of family income should be taken into account in formulating the constructive family income and what should, in all fairness, be ignored, might be the subject of certain general directions laid down by the central authority, but it would be undesirable to fetter the local decision more than can be helped. In the case of the married men it would be practicable and desirable to take a generous line. Normally they should receive the full local rate of donation and allowances.

The frequent fluctuation of an individual's resources, through sickness

or through a host of other vicissitudes, is another factor which complicates the problem of maintenance. Periodic revision of individual payments will be difficult to arrange, but something like weekly visits to the applicant's home will sometimes be an unescapable necessity.

So far nothing has been said as to the rate of the donation to be paid. Should there be a minimum and maximum scale? How is a course to be steered between the Scylla and Charybdis of Insurance benefit and out-relief? In principle, the former should not be exceeded. No one should be better off under the non-contributory than he would be under the contributory plan, and this is one reason why, under a reformed insurance scheme, the rates of benefit should not be less than a subsistence for the average insured person. As for the rates of out-relief, they vary so widely between one Public Assistance Authority and another, that no national system could conform to them. Among the various possible policies in this matter, not the least satisfactory would be to regard the scales of unemployment benefit and allowances as the universal maximum for donation, with power to fix a lower figure for certain regions in accordance with experience. The available personal resources of the applicant could then be deducted, while, in the cases where special circumstances, e.g., high rents or the ill-health of a member of the family, made the allotted donation demonstrably inadequate, reference to the local public assistance committee would be the proper course. The occasional supplementation of contributory benefit by Poor Relief is already an accepted fact, and it is hard to see how it can be avoided in the case of a donation system for the uninsured. A national scheme cannot at present attempt to do more than cater for the average case, nor should an industrial scheme be required to provide for needs which are not directly due to the wage-earner's unemployment. Where factors other than unemployment enter into a family's poverty, the task of distinguishing between the different elements of the case may often be difficult and arbitrary, but, on the other hand, failure to make such distinctions would imply that the new national donation was intended to relieve poverty in general rather than one particular cause of poverty. Certainly there is much to be said for a simple unified system which takes account of all the needs of the family of an unemployed man, but the only way of achieving that end appears to be to leave to the Public Assistance Authorities the care of all distress arising out of non-insured unemployment—a solution of the problem which is here assumed to be unacceptable at the present time.

Measures of treatment and differentiation

The ideal purpose of the scheme should be not merely to provide a subsistence for its clients, but to restore them to wage-earning and inde-

pendence as soon as possible. Many of them belong to a potentially useful class of men and women, even the best of whom, if left long in enforced idleness, will so deteriorate that they will be less likely than ever to get work or to keep it when they have got it. Some task of work or training is therefore called for, and this raises the issue of utilising the training centres and transfer instructional centres of the Ministry of Labour and also the day and residential test centres now run by certain public assistance authorities for able-bodied men. The institution of local relief works also comes into the picture. Each of these ways of creating work can find a place in a restorative programme and all of them are capable of giving admirable results *in suitable circumstances*. There is much to be hoped from their greater development and specialisation in future, always in the closest touch with the changing needs of the labour market. But the words "*in suitable circumstances*" put important limits to the use of some of the above methods and indeed to the scope of this scheme as a whole. Maintenance under training sounds well enough, but no one has yet discovered the types of treatment which will suit every type of unemployed applicant for donation. What, for instance, is to be done with that section of the applicants who come on the scheme for a few weeks and then take themselves off again? Some will be recidivists and some will never appear on the lists again. Worse still, the scheme will be exposed to many thousands of claims from that pathetic army of inefficient humanity that hangs precariously on the lowest fringe of the labour market (and on the Poor Law), especially in large cities. Can these be regarded as an industrial problem or should they be left entirely to the social services of the local authorities? Associated closely with these are the unfit and physically handicapped who, in the writer's opinion, form a larger part of our total unemployment than has yet been realised. Many thousands of such men and women are put off the Health Insurance panel or take themselves off as fit for work. Most of them can then draw unemployment benefit. But fit for what? They can, and occasionally do, sell programmes or act as night watchmen, but they cannot drive a lorry or lift bricks or manage a pneumatic drill! Neither training nor test centres can do much to improve the employment value of cripples, epileptics or sufferers from chronic heart or lung diseases. Lastly, there is the hard core of fixed unemployment in such areas as South Wales, the Tyne and Merseyside; men who have had practically no employment for years and, having passed the stage or the age when they can venture forth, even with State aid, into more promising areas, have lost their former employment value.

The crucial question here is, not merely what the scheme could do for

this tragic group of semi-derelict persons, but whether it should deal with them at all. Is a reasonable standard of personal quality and fitness for work to be set up, below which neither donation nor treatment would be given under this scheme? Obviously some other form of help would have to be provided for the rejected. It is not a question of harshness or laxity; it is simply a question of organisation. There is no kindness in treating as an industrial problem the needs of those who, in the light of actual labour requirements, have passed into another category. Such a course will disappoint those who demand a simple all-in scheme, but it seems to the writer to be the only one consistent with success. The scheme has to choose between observing some standard of quality in its beneficiaries or being all-inclusive and adopting the status of the Poor Law. If it is to be an industrial service and is to win any *prestige in the minds of the workers, it must confine its attentions to those who are really able-bodied*, are under, say, 60 years of age and stand a fair chance of getting back, with help, into the ranks of the independent wage-earners. Among the older men, some who have a good industrial record behind them might well be carried on the new kind of pension-benefit suggested above, but, for the rest, there must be some limit to the duration of the donation.

Accepting these restrictions, how are we to provide for the majority of the non-insured unemployed who are still young or in the prime of life? For them there is a real question of training, transfer and any other treatment that will prevent their quality from becoming tarnished by disuse. But at present the method of training cannot be for all. Nor is it clear that acceptance of some kind of treatment could always be made a compulsory condition of donation. For instance, those who can get back to work in a few days or weeks, need no training. If the treatment is to be more than a mere deterrent, it should be prescribed for a certain duration of time and should offer some prospect of employment at the end. The Ministry of Labour have always held that training should be strictly objective and should be judged by its results in the employment obtained by the trainees. The wholesale expansion of expensive centres, residential or non-residential, and massed training without regard to demand, would soon spoil what has so far been a promising experiment. Moreover, experience shows that success depends on selection. Only if you put good human material into the centres, do you get good results.

The test centres set up by public assistance authorities may be less ambitious, but at bottom, they are subject to the same limitation. They are a laudable attempt to link public assistance with restorative treatment; they have been valuable as affording a physical and moral stimulus to

some of the men on out-relief and as a mild check on malingering, but they can hardly claim at present to have any scientific relation to industry or to the labour market. The same men might spend years at a test centre, and at the end, be no nearer to getting regular employment. Moreover, the centres suffer from this characteristic disadvantage: that an institution providing the kind of treatment which is appropriate for a low average type of man, at once becomes deterrent to the good class of worker.

Clearly if the object of this branch of unemployment relief is to elaborate a system of training for re-employment, it should be regarded as a technical industrial problem and should be vested in the Ministry of Labour as the national authority. On the other hand, if the restorative treatment has no relation to industry and the task of work is required simply as a moral exercise, then it seems to fall outside the scope of this scheme.

It should also be said that none of the institutions set up by the Ministry of Labour are to be regarded as solely devoted to the interests of applicants under the proposed intermediate national scheme. The Centres, like the Employment Exchanges, should be concerned with insured labour as well as uninsured, that is, with the labour market as a whole. All the employment facilities should be available to both classes impartially.

The administrative machinery

The foregoing paragraphs contain tentative suggestions for a new policy towards the uninsured section of the unemployed. When it comes to the question of administration, the suggestions must be even more tentative. Fundamentally, the choice seems to lie between a direct national system and the delegation of wide powers to local bodies subject to the direction of a national authority. Under either alternative, valuable aid might be rendered both in administration and in finance by the appointment of a Statutory Commission, composed of representatives of the Ministries of Health and Labour, of Local Authorities and of Employers and Trade Unions. The aim would be to keep all these bodies in touch with the realities of the problem and to secure their active cooperation. The Commission should be a permanent body and might, if necessary, be served by their own Regional Commissioners who should be paid officials.

As regards the choice between the alternative ways of organizing the new donation scheme, the writer feels unable to express any dogmatic opinions. There are valid administrative arguments for and against each alternative, but, in the end, political and financial conditions will, doubtless, determine the issue. Whatever the solution, a new relationship be-

tween Central and Local Governments seems to be involved. Each must perform their appropriate services within the framework of a unified national scheme and each should make a financial contribution towards it. In the case of the local authorities the charge should not be less and might be rather more than that which they have had to meet in recent years for the relief of the able-bodied unemployed.

Under the first alternative plan, the State Donation would be paid to approved applicants, subject to a test of their resources. The premises of the Employment Exchanges might have to be used, but, if so, it would be important to keep the work as separate as possible from the normal function of the Exchanges in paying Unemployment benefit. Good use might be made of the services of a joint local Committee (and Rota Committees) nominated by the Local Employment Committee and the Public Assistance Authority respectively. A way should be found of enlisting the expert help of local Relieving Officers in conducting home visits.

The second alternative is that the local authorities should carry the burden, both administrative and financial, of paying the donation, subject to partial reimbursement, on a per capita basis, by the Ministry of Labour. The Employment Exchanges would still be responsible for looking after the industrial interests (including training) of the applicants. The Ministry of Labour might, also in the case of certain classes of trainees, particularly those transferred from depressed areas, assume the full responsibility for maintenance during training. Such cases might be exceptions to the rule that the local authority paid part of the cost.

In performing their functions the local authorities would have to remember that neither the law nor the doctrines of public assistance applied to the new donation. Normally the service should be kept separate from poor relief, except possibly in the use of the existing district Relieving Officers. Where, however, the needs of a family involved a claim to public assistance as well as to donation, the case should be dealt with as a whole by one and not two branches of the local services.

No fixed duration of time should be laid down for the payment of donation, but cases in which doubt arises, either from the applicant's industrial record or otherwise, as to their physical or mental capacity for regular employment, should be considered by a local tribunal, aided where necessary by the report of a medical referee. To secure as large a measure of uniformity as possible between districts, a national policy should be framed, but, in the last resort, the discretionary power would necessarily be exercised by the local tribunal.

August, 1931

NOTES AND COMMENT

MRS. ROOSEVELT

THE really great speeches made by Mrs. Roosevelt in support of the welfare "drives" in different cities have been gratefully received and deeply appreciated by the social workers of America, as they have also been deeply felt by the great unseen audiences who have "listened in," and by many others who have read the newspaper reports of her meetings.

In Chicago an outburst of applause marked her appeal for adequate support of school programs during these troubled times that are still with us. She warned her Chicago audience to beware of the business men who thought economy a wise policy for our free schools. On the contrary, she said, with the courage of her convictions, an enlarged educational program is necessary. "I think we should do a better job," she added. "When the father is out work there is a pronounced strain in the home; the child does not grow up a healthy, carefree animal as he should. The only place the child can get proper recreation is in the schools and other character-building agencies. The first duty of this generation is to youth. We cannot affort to let youth be wounded by unemployment. We must protect the young from the scars they might suffer." She denied that there was any true public economy in curtailing educational opportunities, and showed that money saved by the curtailment of educational opportunities would be spent many times over in housing delinquents and punishing criminals.

"Ample public education must be offered," she said, "for if you close the schools you will need more jails. The cities will need not only more jails but more asylums, more hospitals, more poorhouses. In fact, a great many things will happen if we do not give people the interest in life that only education can bring."

A week later, in New York, she told the Junior League what it meant to a man to see his children cold and hungry. In the *New York Times* report of the Junior League meeting there is an interesting account of her appeal to these young women whom she is so well qualified to reach. There is the story of her interview with "a warden who had released a model prisoner serving a sentence for stealing to feed a starving family, after the prisoner had threatened to steal again if necessary."

"I wouldn't blame him," she is reported to have said. "You would be

a poor wishy-washy sort of person if you didn't take anything you could when your family was starving. Put yourself in someone else's position, thinking what right others have to more than they need when they haven't anything. Civilization is not going to last based on such conditions in various parts of the country."

Mrs. Roosevelt did well to describe "the desperation of poverty-stricken inhabitants of some sections of the country, particularly in farming and mining communities."

Her audience must have been greatly moved by the fine appeal in which she said, "Either we are going to share or have nothing." She went on to explain, "I've never had much fear of what might happen, but it's just as well to open our eyes to the conditions in many places in this country and draw our own conclusions. The knowledge that conditions have reached such a state makes it necessary for us to alter our mode of thought."

She pointed out that "most revolutions were a result of the desperation of the people on the land," and then cited tragic instances of deprivation she had seen in West Virginia, North Dakota, Arizona, and other states. Finally she asked whether those with no means were not justified in wondering why they did not share in the plenty of those who possessed it. "Conditions like that do not tend to real contentment."

The obvious sincerity of all that she says, the simple direct appeal to the well-to-do to share with those whose needs she seems to understand with such quick and genuine sympathy have made her one of the most moving of platform speakers. Social workers have many reasons for being grateful to and for Mrs. Roosevelt. Her recent speeches in behalf of the local welfare funds have added to a wide appreciation of her generous spirit of devotion, her quick intelligence, her fine courage.

THE CHILD LABOR CENTENARY

THE year 1933 is a great centennial year in the history of efforts to abolish child labor. Just one hundred years ago the first really effective child labor law was passed by the English parliament, the first law which provided for full-time factory inspectors on a national basis free from local influences. In honor of this centenary, the *Review* is publishing this month the portrait of Lord Shaftesbury, whose leadership must be given credit for the success of 1833. The article by Dean Rutledge, which is also published this month, is in recognition of the work already done but more particularly because the problem is still with us.

After one hundred years of progress, America is still striving to reach a point where national legislation is possible. But this centennial year has been happily marked by two great achievements: (1) the passing of the Child Labor Amendment by nine additional states, bringing the total number of ratifying states to fifteen, and (2) the N.R.A. provision of a minimum age of sixteen for children.

The United States Children's Bureau has issued a timely leaflet giving information regarding the child-labor provisions of the President's Re-employment Agreement, the Substitute Agreements and Codes of Fair Competition, with a list of suggestions for officers issuing employment certificates to minors.

These suggestions, together with a summary of the child-labor provisions of the various codes, have been sent to nearly two hundred employment certificate officers who are co-operating with the Children's Bureau in reporting annually the number of first working papers issued to children going to work for the first time. The Bureau explains that careful issuance of employment certificates is essential in order "to protect the employer who wishes to comply with the minimum-age provisions set up under the National Recovery Act for his industry, whether on the President's Re-employment Agreement, a substitute agreement, or a Code of Fair Competition."

The Bureau also points out that any employer hiring a minor under eighteen should obtain an age or employment certificate as a protection to himself, even though a certificate is not required for a minor of his age by the state child-labor law. Attention is also called to the fact that if the state law fixes a higher minimum age than that fixed by the President's Re-employment Agreement, or a Substitute Agreement for the industry, or by a Code of Fair Competition for the industry, the state law should govern. "The standards set up by the National Recovery Act, however, in any agreement, substitute agreement or code, supersede those of a state law which set a lower standard."

Mr. Dinwiddie, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in making public the findings of a recent and valuable committee report[1] of a follow-up study of children who received serious industrial injuries about five years ago, called attention to the fact that while the N.R.A. program had "removed many children under sixteen years from industry,

[1] *When Children Are Injured in Industry.* Report of a Follow-up Study of 167 Children Injured in Industrial Accidents in Tennessee, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Study conducted by Charles E. Gibbons and Chester T. Stansbury. Report prepared by Gertrude Folks Zimand. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1933 Pp. 43. $0.50.

the number of young workers between sixteen and eighteen years is still well over a million—in fact their number may be increasing in certain industries where the codes permit a lower wage rate for junior employees."

Mr. Dinwiddie estimates that the industrial codes have released 100,000 children under sixteen year of age from industrial employment. Another 30,000 boys and girls sixteen to eighteen years of age have been removed from especially hazardous work. On the other hand he estimates that there are still approximately 240,000 children under sixteen years of age working in occupations not covered by codes. These children are employed largely in industrialized agriculture, such as the production of sugar beets, cotton, tobacco, and truck farm products, in street trades, especially newspaper selling, and in domestic service.

The Children's Bureau and the Child Labor Committee have done well to remind us that our help is still needed for "the protection of the forgotten."

CHILD RECOVERY CONFERENCE

THE need of increased efforts in behalf of child health and protection were clearly pointed out last June when Dr. Martha M. Eliot, of the Yale University School of Medicine, presented the results of a survey of the material collected by the United States Children's Bureau in this field. This was wisely followed last September by the Child Recovery Conference called by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Mrs. Roosevelt attended the conference and expressed her very deep interest in a child-recovery program. A large number of health officers, representatives of child-hygiene departments, physicians interested in child health, and social workers, attended the Washington Conference under the chairmanship of Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau. Dr. Eliot again presented an accumulated mass of evidence showing malnutrition among school children that had been gathered in many different states. The vigorous program needed will, it is hoped, receive adequate public support.

ARIZONA MOVES FORWARD

ARIZONA is one state that has taken a step forward in time of disaster. A greatly needed Public Welfare Department was established by the last session of the Legislature, and an able non-political appointment was made by the new Board. Dr. Florence M. Warner, recently superintendent of one of the largest Unemployment Relief Stations in Chicago,

was made chief of the new department, and in the last six months great progress has been made under her direction. Dr. Warner is the author of the new book, *Juvenile Detention in the United States*, recently published by the University of Chicago Press in co-operation with the National Probation Association.

RELIEF AND INSURANCE

THERE is no hard and fast line between relief and social insurance. Non-contributory insurance like the English system of old-age pensions, which still provides for men and women over seventy, and the American system of mothers' aid or mothers' pensions are forms of relief in line with modern social work. So long as "insurance" is non-contributory (i.e., no contributions paid by those "insured"), the payments made to beneficiaries come from the same taxpayers' contributions as do the relief funds; so long as grants are made only on some basis of "need" or "means," the beneficiaries are selected on the same basis as are relief beneficiaries. The difference lies in the fact that the new forms of relief are wisely called by new names and are so given as to preserve the self-respect of those assisted.

Many American social workers are unwilling to look forward to so-called contributory systems of social insurance which mean small weekly deductions from the wages of the workers after the British or the European pattern. They prefer the American mothers' aid system. And they take note of the fact that even a contributory system like the British Unemployment Insurance scheme inevitably breaks down as "insurance" during prolonged periods of unemployment. England long ago faced the problem of what to do about the continuation of benefits when valid insurance claims were exhausted. Last year England decided that the grants made beyond proper insurance benefits should be only on the basis of need. This, of course, brings the insurance system back to the necessity of investigating the applicant's resources, or, in other words, back to the old problem of relief. In view of the importance of this question, the *Review* is publishing this month further material from the valuable testimony before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance.[1]

Social workers welcome any plan that is called social insurance, but they insist that all forms of relief, old and new, should be placed on the same level of respect for the beneficiaries. They welcome the use of new

[1] See the section on Source Materials in this issue, pp. 659.

categories like "old age assistance" and "mothers' aid," which help to preserve the self-respect of those in need.

The differences between England and America with regard to social policies are many. In the first place, social workers here are determined to abolish the old poor laws and draft new legislation that will place all forms of public assistance on the old-age pension and mothers' aid level. But they are not in agreement with the English schemes which divorce social insurance systems from social work. All forms of public assistance should be administered by well-qualified social workers. The old-age pension system was administered in England through the post-office. It is almost unnecessary to say that social workers can do a great deal to help these old people that cannot be done at the post-office or by post-office clerks.

IMPORTANT COURT DECISIONS

THE last volume of the Ohio Supreme Court Reports contains a poor-relief decision of first-rate importance (*Ach* v. *Braden*, 125 Ohio State Reports 307). The constitutionality of the poor-relief measure passed by the Special Session of the Ohio State Legislature in April of last year, which was the question before the Court, was upheld. But the decision is of interest to social workers not merely for this reason but because of the valuable discussion of emergency legislation, which is of such importance at the present time. The ancient maxim of the law, "*Salus populi suprema lex est*," furnishes the Court with a noble text. "The welfare of the people is the paramount law," said the Court in justifying the emergency poor-relief law. The decision holds that the act "was passed by the General Assembly with the intent of promoting the common welfare. Its purpose is the alleviation of human suffering and the prevention of want by aiding the poor in their distress. And so like the Good Samaritan of old (St. Luke, 10:34) the state has extended a helpful hand to those of its people who, perhaps through no fault of their own, become destitute and needful of the necessaries of life."

The Court cited a well-known opinion of Judge Florence Allen wherein it was held "that funds raised by taxation for public schools were raised for public, and not for private, purposes." In rendering this opinion, Judge Allen had said, "The sovereign people have not considered the giving of education to be a private purpose," and she had added a further statement that education is "a matter of supreme public concern."

In the recent decision the Court cited the earlier decision of Judge Allen and said: "If it be then a public purpose to afford education to pre-

vent illiteracy, it follows as an obvious corollary that it is also a public purpose when the state assumes the duty of protecting its unfortunates from hunger and want."

The Supreme Court of the state of Washington also handed down an interesting decision (*Hamilton* v. *Martin*, 23 Pacific Reporter [2d] 1) on June 5 of the present year holding the recent Washington "Relief Act" (chap. 8, *Laws of 1933*) and the interrelated "Bond Act" (chap. 65, *Laws of 1933*) to be constitutional. The purpose of the Bond Act, which authorized "the creation of a state debt and the issuance and sale of bonds in the sum of $10,000,000" to carry out the purpose of the Relief Act, will be found in the preamble of the Act in which a number of reasons for its enactment are set out—among others that "discontent, social unrest and incipient insurrection exist. Acts of insurrection are occurring. . . . . A critical emergency calling for constructive action is presented; otherwise catastrophe impends. . . . . It is imperative that existing unemployment and distress be in some measure allayed. . . . . This obligation is upon the state. Legislation is essential for its fulfillment."

The decision of the Court which upheld the emergency laws contained the following statement: "Whether or not the combined legislation before us accomplishes the intended purposes, remains to be seen. The wisdom and expedience thereof are not our concern. Their obvious aims are to prevent insurrection by civilized methods, rather than by violence and bloodshed."

REGISTRATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

THE September *Compass* brings the news that "a system of certification of social workers is now an accomplished fact in California."[1] Detailed plans for carrying out this new mandate are still in process of formulation, and this *Review* hopes to be able to present them in the next issue.

In the meantime social workers of Illinois are considering the proposals for legislation that have been submitted to the Chicago Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Chicago has taken the position that the public social services can be protected only by civil service regulations making only those who are "registered social workers"

[1] For earlier discussions of this subject see this *Review*, III (1929), 479–80, "Examination and Certification of Social Workers"; V (1931), 484–85, "Registration of Social Workers"; V (1931), 582–95, "Registration of Social Workers," by Samuel A. Goldsmith; VI (1932), 567–74, "Registration or Certification of Social Workers," by Walter M. West.

eligible to take the civil service examinations. That is, as a public nursing position should be open only to registered nurses, a public medical position only to licensed physicians, or a public legal appointment only to those admitted to the bar, so the public social services should be restricted to those who have passed examinations as qualified social workers. In drafting the following bill, Representative Josephine Perry of the Illinois Legislature and the Legislative Reference Bureau of Illinois have had the assistance of Miss Breckinridge, chairman of the Chicago Chapter. This suggested bill is presented here for purposes of further discussion; and criticism will be welcomed.

A BILL FOR AN ACT IN RELATION TO THE REGULATION OF THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:

Section 1. For the purposes of this Act:

"Social worker" means a person who undertakes to apply the appropriate social resources to the special need of an individual suffering from poverty, delinquency, mental defect or disease, physical disability or deficient social or neighborhood facilities.

"School of Social Work" or a "University Program of Social Work" means an educational institution of not less than collegiate rank in which courses of instruction are offered in the principles and methods applicable in the different divisions of social work, approved by those who are recognized as skilled in the practice of social work, together with courses of instruction in the basic social sciences.

"Field Work" means actual practice in the application of approved principles carried on as a part of an educational program under the supervision of a qualified social worker.

"Social Case Work Agency" means a public authority or a private organization whose purpose it is to secure the public treatment of individuals suffering from poverty, delinquency, mental disease or deficiency, physical handicap or deficient neighborhood or community facilities by the application to their particular need of the appropriate resources.

Section 2. After the first day of ————, ————, it shall be unlawful for any person to practice, or attempt to practice social work, as a registered social worker, without a certificate of registration as a registered social worker, issued by the Department of Registration and Education, pursuant to the provisions of "The Civil Administrative Code of Illinois," approved March 7, 1917, as amended.

Section 3. A person is qualified to receive a certificate as a registered social worker.

(a) Who is not less than twenty-one years of age;

(b) Who has completed the equivalent of two years of college education;

(c) Who has completed a one-year specialized training course in social work in a School of Social Work or in a university program of social work, including one hundred and fifty hours of field work with an approved social case work agency; or

(d) Who has had four years of practical experience in social organizations of recognized standing and has demonstrated that he possesses an educational background warranting expectation of success and progress in the profession of social work.

Section 4. Every person who desires to obtain a certificate of registration shall apply to the Department of Registration and Education, in writing, upon blanks prepared and furnished by the Department of Registration and Education. Each application shall contain proof of the particular qualification required of the applicant, shall be verified by the applicant, under oath, and shall be accompanied by the required fee.

Section 5. The Department of Registration and Education shall hold examinations of applicants for certificates of registration as registered social workers at such times and places as it may determine.

The examination of applicants for certificates of registration as registered social workers may include both written and oral tests and shall embrace the subjects usually taught in schools of social work, approved by the Department of Registration and Education.

Section 6. Whenever the provisions of this Act have been complied with, the Department of Registration and Education shall issue an applicant a certificate of registration as a registered social worker.

Section 7. Every registered social worker who continues in active practice shall, annually, on or before the first day of ————, renew his or her certificate of registration and pay the required renewal fee. Every certificate of registration which has not been renewed during the month of ———— in any year shall expire on the first day of ———— in that year. A registered social worker whose certificate of registration has expired may renew his certificate of registration only upon payment of the required restoration fee.

Section 8. The Department of Registration and Education may either refuse to issue, or may refuse to renew, or may suspend, or may revoke, any certificate of registration, for any or any combination, of the following:

(a) The obtaining of, or attempt to obtain a certificate of registration, or practice in the profession, or money, or any other thing of value, by fraudulent representation; or

(b) Conviction of a felony, as shown by a certified copy of the record of the court of conviction; or

(c) Habitual drunkenness or habitual addiction to the use of morphine, cocaine, or other habit forming drugs; or

(d) Any conduct which constitutes dishonesty.

Section 9. Upon payment of the required fee, an applicant who is a social

worker, registered or licensed under the laws of another State or territory of the United States, or of a foreign country or province may, without examination, be granted a certificate of registration as a registered social worker by the Department of Registration and Education, in its discretion, upon the following conditions:

(a) That the applicant is at least twenty-one years of age; and

(b) That the applicant is of good moral character; and

(c) That the requirements for the registration or licensing of social workers in the particular state, territory, country or province, were, at the date of the license, substantially equal to the requirements then in force in this State.

Section 10. The fee to be paid by an applicant for an examination to determine his fitness to receive a certificate of registration as a registered social worker is ten dollars ($10.00).

The fee to be paid by an applicant for a certificate of registration as a registered social worker is five dollars ($5.00).

The fee to be paid upon the renewal of a certificate of registration is one dollar ($1.00).

The fee to be paid by an applicant for a certificate of registration who is a social worker registered or licensed under the laws of another State or territory of the United States or of a foreign country or province is five dollars ($5.00).

The fee to be paid for the restoration of an expired certificate of registration as a registered social worker is five dollars ($5.00).

Section 11. The Department of Registration and Education may adopt reasonable rules and regulations relating to the enforcement of the provisions of this Act.

Section 12. Each of the following acts constitutes a misdemeanor, punishable upon conviction by a fine of not less than ————————, and not more than ————————.

(a) The practice of social work, or an attempt to practice social work, as a registered social worker without a certificate of registration as herein provided;

(b) The obtaining of, or an attempt to obtain a certificate of registration or practice in the profession, or money, or any other thing of value, by fraudulent representation;

(c) The making of any wilfully false oath or affirmation as required by this Act.

All fines and penalties shall inure to the Department of Registration and Education.

Section 13. The Department of Registration and Education shall keep a record which shall be open to public inspection at all reasonable times, of its proceedings, relating to the issuance, refusal, renewal, suspension and revocation of certificates of registration. This record shall also contain the name, known place of business and residence, and the date and number of certificate of registration of every registered social worker in this State.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Development of Local Government. By W. A. Robson. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1931. Pp. 362. 12*s.* 6*d.*

If we disregard the transformations in governmental organization that may be thought of as revolutionary, justified, or rendered necessary by the "emergency" situation now nearly four years old, there is probably no question more important for the student in the United States than the reorganization of local authorities and the realignment of interjurisdictional relationships. There are certainly few subjects on which there is greater confusion and with reference to which ancient shibboleths and out-of-date slogans work more damage. Certain distributions of governmental responsibilities that were appropriate in 1789 have taken on an aspect of holy aloofness that make it seem almost blasphemous to discuss their reallocation. One has only to recall the emotional vigor with which President Hoover assigned certain responsibilities first to individual benevolence and then to local governmental agencies. And President Roosevelt, while supporting national activity in the supply of power, in the distribution and diversion of water, in innumerable ways that affect what have been within the local scope, suddenly lapses into seventeenth-century doctrine with reference to the relief of distress.

Robson's discussion, then, of the situation in England which he describes as "confused, inefficient, wasteful, overlapping and extravagant" has great value and pertinence for the American student, who sees the same features characterizing the public services on which one must rely for order, safety, comfort, decency, the opportunity for association with one's fellow-men, and the education of one's children. His proposals in a number of aspects are less pertinent, because of the differences in constitutional and structural bases of organization, but his discussion of the principles on which reorganization should be based, especially his recognition of the essential partnership between the local and the central authority, is stimulating, suggestive, stated in a lively and interesting style showing the results of extensive travel and wide sympathy with the aspirations and capacities of ordinary men and women, as well as a comprehensive use of historical sources. He constantly acknowledges the obligation under which all students of public administration lie to Beatrice and Sidney Webb and to Ernst Freund.

The author presents his material in five parts. In the first, the "Structure of Local Governments" is discussed; in the second, the "Functions of Local Authorities"; in the third, the "Municipal Civil Service," in which the evaluation of the written examination as a test of fitness might well be made a part of the

"compulsory education" of all students of administration; in the fourth, "Public Health Administration"; and in the fifth, the "District Auditor," whose anomalous position is set out in an extremely interesting manner but whose services find no analogue in the American organization.

As has been said, the volume is an important contribution to the literature which is now so important for the social worker whose future professional opportunities are tied up with the development of sound public administration of the social services and especially the relief of distress.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Personal Finance Business. By M. R. NEIFELD. New York: Harper & Bros., 1933. Pp. 490. $5.00.

The personal finance business in this country has passed through one historical stage and is now in a second. The first reached from the beginning until the year 1917; the second begins with that year. The factor separating the two is the development of the Uniform Small Loans Law, sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. In this book the reader will find that the first period extended far back beyond the discovery of America. From the Babylonian civilization generation after generation of small borrowers and small lenders have endeavored to cope with the problem of their mutual relationship—how to keep such a relationship reasonably fair to both parties.

Dr. Neifeld's approach to the problem may be summarized as follows. As civilization advanced, the individual gradually emerges from the mass of men. His needs are always with him, but gradually he is granted certain rights which the state is willing to safeguard. One of his needs is to borrow money to meet emergencies. Gradually there developed as one of his rights the privilege of being protected against usurious interest charges. As there were different classes of borrowers, there came to be different classes of lenders, classifiable by size of loan, by security accepted, by source from which capital was secured for the business, and in other ways. In this country a grouping may be made on the basis of whether or not the transaction is on a business basis. The philanthropic organizations are at one end of the scale and the purely commercial organizations at the other, with several intermediate types. Thus supply strives to keep pace with demand in all of its forms. The questions were: How could the borrower secure the money? How could the lender have assurance of getting it back?

A second development related to the degree of respect accorded the transaction. In a country like the United States, where the pioneer tradition of thrift was deeply imbedded in the people's minds, there was a very natural reaction of lack of sympathy for the man who had not been thrifty and who must therefore borrow. Dr. Neifeld points out the growth of the idea that thrift carried to ex-

tremes is as bad as extravagance. The swing from the principle that it is wrong to borrow to the conviction that under certain individual circumstances a loan may be justified morally, and in other ways is typical. Recognition of the needs of the common man for banking facilities of some sort is making headway. As yet one can hardly be dogmatic as to the dividing line between the transactions to be commended and those to be frowned upon.

Part II of the book is devoted to a description of the specific devices by which consumer-credit is made available to the small borrower. Fortunately, lenders, banking officials, and others interested in this type of work have kept statistics, and it is around these illuminating figures that the greater part of the book is written. Dr. Neifeld handles his material with ability. He has gathered information from sources which, at first sight, have no bearing on the subject. The book has, in its 458 pages of text, 135 tables, and is a mine of information about the economic background of the small-loans problem. This reviewer would not agree with all of Dr. Neifeld's conclusions. Some are subject to modification in view of the present financial depression throughout the country. But, as far as they can go, the figures up to 1929 tell a very interesting and valuable story. They explain why people borrow, how much trouble is involved in paying back the loan, what it costs the lender to engage in the business, how a rate of charge is determined which, including the customary interest and the necessary expenses of operation, will give the lender encouragement to risk his capital in this venture and at the same time will restrain him from demanding all the traffic will bear. One chapter is devoted to the legal aspects of the problem, a subject which is only incidental to the main theme and which is covered more elaborately in other volumes, such as *Small Loan Legislation* by Gallert, Hilborn, and May. The chapter on the social aspects of the personal finance business endeavors to answer the question as to what is the market for the small-loan lender. To reach some reasonable basis for consideration of this matter it is possible to eliminate from the great mass of people certain groups who need not turn to this particular source of credit because others more favorable to them are available. The final group is composed of the men who want to borrow a small sum, perhaps five or ten dollars. At first glance it would seem that such people, having little or no security to offer the borrower, are discriminated against. They are not good business risks and yet they have needs like their more favored fellows. Dr. Neifeld points out how this group of small borrowers is divisible into those who, for various reasons, will find their relief in the office of a social agency rather than in a commercial establishment. At the same time there are other border-line cases who, in fact, are taken care of by reputable industrial lenders, even though the interest chargeable on the loans does not pay the lender for his expenses in keeping the loan on his books.

Moneylending under restrictions of the Uniform Small Loans Law is not a philanthropic enterprise. It is a business proposition, and those who wish to emphasize the charitable needs of the borrower should turn their attention to

such agencies as credit unions and other mutual enterprises. From this book we see that the Uniform Small Loans Law is a specific remedy aimed at a particular problem in the consumer-credit field and not a panacea. Recognition of this fact by the public generally will go far to remove present misunderstandings. In its own field the Uniform Law is the best solution yet submitted.

The chapter on "Public Relations of the Lender Group" is very revealing. There in small compass appear statements by those in a position to pass critically on the subject. It is impressive to realize what a body of informed public opinion there is in support of the business as it is now conducted in states where the Uniform Law is in effect.

A subject which, in spite of all the literature produced in the last few years, is still not thoroughly understood by the great mass of people has been approached by Dr. Neifeld from the economic side and is seen as a whole. The comprehensiveness of the approach, the wealth of supporting data, the indefatigable industry which obviously went into the preparation of the text, the reasonable viewpoint of the author, are all commendable. The reader will lay down the book feeling that he as well as the author has a thorough grasp of the subject.

JOHN S. BRADWAY

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Social Service Year Book of Chicago, 1932. Edited by MRS. CLORINNE BRANDENBURG, Director of Statistical Bureau, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, 1933. Pp. 66. $0.25.

Six years ago when the Chicago Council of Social Agencies undertook to collect uniform monthly statistics from all the local social agencies in twenty-four functional fields, many doubting Thomases declared the task impossible. And so, indeed, it often seemed. Unremitting local efforts, reinforced by supervision and assistance provided by the United States Children's Bureau have, however, gradually broken down some of the obstacles. Chicago's first social work year book, filled as it is with statistical information of prime significance, is a tribute to the farsightedness of those who six years ago believed the task of establishing central statistical reporting was worth undertaking.

The year book is modest in scope, consisting of a brief introduction by Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., president of the Council of Social Agencies, and six tightly packed chapters. Nowhere has the changing pattern of organization in the field of family welfare and relief been more succinctly traced than in the chapter contributed by Joel D. Hunter, superintendent of the United Charities. His concise description of the succession of expedients by which the community sought to meet the relief crisis will be of inestimable value to historians who, a hundred years from now, may be seeking to depict Chicago's development in a second series of centennial histories. His columns of statistics are not infrequent-

ly dramatic. One table shows the total proportion of the relief load borne respectively by public funds and private contributions from 1928 through 1932. In 1928 approximately two-thirds of the income for relief was provided by taxation. Then came the crash, and private citizens launched huge drives for funds in an effort to weather the storm with President Hoover on the good brig, Private Charity. As a result, in 1931 only one-third of the funds spent were supplied by the taxpayer and two-thirds came from the pockets of private donors. But rugged individualism was able to hold the line only in that single year. In 1932 public moneys met more than 90 per cent of the total bill.

Relief figures for 1932 are presented in categories that show the types of agencies administering the program—major relief agencies, minor relief agencies (including social settlements), and suburban relief agencies. Chicagoans will learn with astonishment that in this community the function called relief of destitution—a function, incidentally, which in its essence is as homogeneous as public education—is in this city partitioned among no less than thirty-nine different administrative units. A study made last spring in Detroit induced a belief that even with a return of pre-depression conditions, industrial cities will be obliged to carry a much heavier load of destitution than they have ever known before. It is a real question whether any city can do this without effecting a transformation of the kind of patchwork pattern of community organization reflected by these Chicago figures.

The chapter on "Child-Caring Agencies," contributed by Ethel Verry, superintendent of the Chicago Orphan Asylum, and the chapter on "Health Services," by Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of the Jewish Charities of Chicago, differ from the others in their emphasis upon needed developments or reforms. Miss Verry stresses "the increased reliance we are forced to put upon public funds and public agencies if the needs of the community are to be met." "Chicago has never had a public agency for child care," she points out, "but has relied upon a system of public subsidies to private institutions and child-placing societies. Within recent years these private agencies have been unable to accept for care children the Juvenile Court believed should be placed."

There is no adequate program in Chicago for the institutional care of the chronic sick, and there is a serious hiatus in the institutional care of the convalescent sick, according to Mr. Goldsmith. He points to the need for a comprehensive survey of facts concerning illness and the available facilities for health service.

The other chapter titles are: "Care of Non-Family Men and Women," by Robert Beasley and Mary Gillette Moon; "Care of the Aged," by Julius Savit; and "Group Work Activities," by Lea D. Taylor. Statistics in the group work field are notoriously difficult to obtain and have never been centrally collected in Chicago. Despite this deficiency, Miss Taylor's account of the group work accomplishments in a year when the phrase "leisure time" took on a new and sinister meaning is dynamic and inspiriting.

Two extraordinary omissions mar this otherwise commendable publication. There is no chapter on the efforts of social workers in the field of delinquency, although the year 1932 was not without its accomplishments in that field. Nor is there any mention of professional education in a year characterized not only by unparalleled problems in that field but also by devoted efforts to serve the community without undermining the still precarious footing of the professional group. It is to be hoped that these two fields in which Chicago's contribution has been so conspicuous will not be ignored in future issues.

A. W. McMillen

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The Rural Community and Social Case Work. By Josephine C. Brown, with an Introduction by Emma O. Lundberg. New York: J. J. Little & Ives Company, 1933. Pp. ix+165. $1.00.

In this period of rapid expansion in public welfare, this little book, admirably organized and clearly and simply written, will prove a trustworthy guide to the new as well as to the older relief administrators in county units all over the nation. The layman as well as the professional person will find it shot through with pictures of rural life. It is a timely and valuable contribution to literature on the practice of social work, and its importance is out of all proportion to its length.

Emma O. Lundberg, in her Introduction, tells us that "Miss Brown writes from the experience she herself gained as a social worker in a county and from the no less important findings which she gleaned from rural social workers during the period that she served as Associate Field Director of the Family Welfare Association of America, the organization with which she is still affiliated."

The Rural Community and Social Case Work is the logical product of this period of preparation. The book opens with a picture of family life in the country and points out the differences between it and family life in the city. The farm family, isolated, sometimes overworked, lacking modern conveniences, but with its life bound to the business upon which it depends for support, is on the whole "more stable and enduring than that found in cities." The children share in the business in which the father and mother are partners, and thus the affection of the members of the family for one another is deepened. But the isolation of the farm which fosters the solidarity of the family is also a handicap, restricting participation in community life and lessening the stimulation which comes from association with those of varied tastes and occupations.

Miss Brown gives as pictures, first the overworked farm wife bound to the home by monotonous toil; the independent farmer who finds co-operation difficult, inclined to be patriarchal in his family relationship and ruling rigorously, demanding the respect, loyalty, and obedience of his family; and last, the children, with the open fields for their playground and farm animals for their pets, with unexcelled opportunity to develop self-reliance, self-control, initiative,

and habits of industry. This is the brighter side of the picture. In homes where the children are thought of as financial assets the "work tradition" may imperil health and deprive the child of opportunity for a reasonable amount of play and consequently of normal development.

Reports of studies in the Federal Children's Bureau are quoted which show "serious loss of schooling, long hours and heavy and sometimes hazardous work, resulting in excessive fatigue and in some cases permanent injury."

The family on the farm is in a period of transition we are told. "Foremost among the changes which mark this transition period are the introduction of modern farm machinery; the dissemination of technical agricultural knowledge; better roads; rural postal delivery; widespread use of the automobile, the telephone and the radio."

The old country neighborhood is giving way to the wider community about the larger and more distant trading center. There are more conveniences in the home and more leisure. The farm women who join a village club have new interests. These changes are accompanied by strains in the family relationship. The farmer whose work affords a more satisfying outlet than does that of his wife, is less attracted by social stimulation out of the home. He has the satisfaction of ownership. His wife, eager for goods she has seen in the homes of her village friends, questions her husband's thrift and his right to budget the family income.

The relationship of the children to their father is changing, states Miss Brown. Seeing village boys who do not work, they rebel against their father's rigorous rules.

These changes and their effect upon the farm family must be in the thinking of the rural case worker who will find that "while the fundamental principles of case work are the same whether she works in city, town, village, or open country, there are certain modifications in method which may be advisable in making an adjustment to rural conditions."

The desirable "modifications in method" are set forth in the chapter on "Rural Case Work," in which the services that a case worker may render are admirably outlined and suggestions made as to how she should render them.

The rural case worker encounters different traditions and standards, more intimate relationships between the family and the employer, the teacher, the clergyman, and those who refer the family, all of whom may know intimately the lives of those about whom inquiry is being made. There are lacking resources that the city workers take for granted, such as, for example, a nearby social service exchange and accurate information regarding income.

The rural case worker, however, is told "she should form the habit of making all her plans on the basis of ideal facilities for treatment—then use her imagination and initiative, together with the data revealing community needs, to stimulate the developments of the desired resources."

The last four chapters of the book outline the office procedure, the steps to be

taken in interpreting the work of the agency to the public; financing the organization; and working with rural leaders and county officials. It closes with a list of national social work agencies and a varied list of suggested reading.

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Chronic Illness in New York City. By MARY C. JARRETT. New York: Published for the Welfare Council of New York City by Columbia University Press, 1933. 2 vols. (Studies of the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council, No. 5.) $5.00.

This report of the study of chronic illness in New York City, made under the auspices of the Welfare Council in 1928, is important in the fields of medicine and of social work. It presents the new concept of chronic disease as an entity. Widely differing in etiology, needing widely differing methods of study and treatment, the various chronic diseases appear as a unit in essential features—in the tremendous economic burden which they impose on the community, and in the strain on human endurance and human dignity which they impose on their victims. This report keeps a nice balance between a synthesis which gives us a bird's-eye view of the problem as a whole, and an analysis which makes it possible to see where special services are being given and where more are needed.

Those immediately concerned with the survey and report have kept close to facts—the report is too heavy with them to be easily read in its entirety. But it is obvious from beginning to end that the facts were gathered and presented by enthusiasts—whose enthusiasm has been tempered into devotion by years of up-hill effort to solve the problems discussed. So we are not left with facts alone, but with a challenge to further study and to community action. Best of all, the report is so written that other communities can test their own situations against these findings for New York City. This is a book which no one can afford to miss if he wants to understand how his own community can best meet basic medical and social needs.

To the social worker the book has a special value. For here is possibly the finest example yet produced of the integration of medical and social skills in the problem of human suffering. And we have particularly to be grateful that in Miss Jarrett's presentation we were sure that the chronic patient's need of mental hygiene as well as of physical care would not be overlooked. The inclusion of drug addiction among chronic diseases—in the face of its complete relegation to correctional institutions in New York City—gives us some appreciation of the imagination and courage that went into the planning of the survey and the drafting of the report.

LOUISE B. POWERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Towards Mental Health—The Schizophrenic Problem, by CHARLES MACFIE CAMPBELL, M.D. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. 110. $1.25.

In 1932 the topic of mental hygiene was chosen for the Adolph Gehrmann lectures at the University of Illinois College of Medicine. The three lectures delivered by Doctor Campbell were restricted to the problem of schizophrenia, and lest the task of mental hygiene appear to be too easy and tranquil, emphasis is given to the complexities of the task and the risk of oversimplification which is apt to lead later to disillusionment.

Schizophrenia, not unlike epilepsy in the treatment accorded it, is a sadly overworked diagnosis. A survey of the schizophrenic field reveals a shocking ignorance, bold assertions, and speculations saturated with hopelessness. Nicely does Doctor Campbell indicate the maze through which one must pass if one aspires clinically to assist the schizophrenic. He suggests and hints of possible factors wherein preventive work may be accomplished. To have done more, in the absence of the known cause or the lack of analysis of the factors involved in schizophrenia, would have been rash, if not unwise.

Of prime importance in schizophrenia is the management of the sexual instinct and of the memories dealing with past sexual experiences. Another factor is the many-sided relationship of the individual to the parents. And a third is the personal value of the individual, either spiritual, ethical, or social, his place in the social group and in the general plan of the universe. Very ably does Doctor Campbell clearly set forth an analysis of the individual and social problems involved and gives a sketchy review of the resources of the individual and of the community for meeting the challenge of the cases he concisely presents.

An extremely wholesome and reassuring viewpoint is expressed in the chapter on heredity and environment in which the line between sanity and insanity, or a social asset and a social liability, terms which mental hygienists have cheaply borrowed from a relentless and unrepentant industrial age, is drawn thin but with superb delicacy. In conclusion Doctor Campbell states, "Mental hygiene cannot guarantee the happiness of the individual, which is partly dependent on unknown factors of destiny, but it can do much to foster the full utilization of personal and social resources." However, the problem of schizophrenia with all its complexity and cloudiness is clarified in this book by one who is adept, yet cautious, in making the sinister less mysterious than it really is. The presentation and the style employed should place the book on a high plane with special appeal to those who pride themselves on the possession of a practical mind.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Psychiatry in Education. By V. V. ANDERSON, in collaboration with WILLIE MAUDE KENNEDY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1932. Pp. xviii+430. $4.00.

In the application of psychiatric methods to education, we find Dr. Anderson exerting the same energy and executive skill as was evidenced in his application of psychiatry to industry. Although the whole field of school education is discussed, the college period is touched lightly in the first chapter, and little is added to the present literature on college mental hygiene. The rest of the volume is concerned with the details of the author's experiments in handling children with behavior problems at his boarding school in New York. The 60–75 children ranged in academic age from the primary grades through high school while their I.Q.'s varied from 80 to 135, and in the group were represented personality problems from minor maladjustments to the psychoses. The staff was composed of twenty-two persons: teachers, councilors, etc., chosen carefully for their integrated, adjusted personalities, as well as for training in teaching and counciling.

Dr. Anderson offers a challenge to all forms of modern education, criticizing classical methods as haphazard and as attempting to fit the pupil into the rigid school program and criticizing the progressive school for an exaggerated accent upon freedom. In the former he believes the personality of the child is neglected and the development of stereotyped habits results, while, in the latter, social and work habits are neglected and the child is, therefore, not trained for adjustment in a social milieu. In his school he has attempted a happy medium between these two methods, with an aim toward the best development of the total personality consistent with social demands. The school work is somewhat formal with specific assignments, recitations, and numerical grades for accomplishment, but also it is flexible in offering individual tutoring when needed. Each child has specific tasks daily in the care of his room, and in various projects of his group which may be concerned with the school studies or with extracurricular activities such as those of gardening, care of the animals, etc. Conformity to the demands are enforced through discipline which, at times, seems somewhat drastic, as, in one instance cited, a boy who refused to eat all the food on his plate was forced to take a diet of milk in which had been put a bitter tonic. In developing a social conscience in each child the pressure of group demands is accented. Daily individual talks with the psychiatrist or superintendent and mental hygiene talks to the group also aid the child in understanding his own problems and in working out methods for adjustment to the social demands of the group. Only in the cases of the hospital group including post-encephalitic cases, schizophrenia, etc., is the social pressure lessened and the individual approach more accented. His work with schizophrenics is interesting in that it agrees well with the treatment used by Dr. Sullivan and others for adult schizophrenics—that of close association with one man who plays the rôle of parent, companion, and teacher to the

patient. Only after this relationship is well established is the child given any association with other individuals.

There are many and detailed case studies throughout the text which describe minutely the problems presented and the methods of handling them. But lacking completely is any analysis of the mechanisms involved in the development of the symptoms. This gives the impression that treatment is largely the result of Dr. Anderson's common-sense and intuitive insight rather than based upon a scientific understanding of the dynamics underlying the behavior of the child. Nevertheless, the book has much to contribute toward practical programs for treatment as well as toward a constructive, balanced form of general education.

MARGARET W. GERARD, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Guidance of Mental Growth in Infant and Child. By ARNOLD GESELL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xi+332. $2.25.

This book is comprised primarily of a collection of previously presented articles and talks on various aspects of child development and guidance. In addition, the author presents new material on the growth of present concepts of child guidance. The first part deals with the development of and trends in child-training during the past two centuries. The relation of parent to child in the eighteenth century is discussed, and the changing concepts regarding the importance of the early period of childhood are stressed. One chapter is devoted to a collection of interesting old lithographs which show child life in the home and school, and also illustrate various aspects of the training of children during the past century.

The author discusses the nursery-school movement in Part II, and emphasizes its value not only as a means of training children, but also as a means of educating parents to a better parent-child relationship during the important formative period of childhood. In addition, such other problems as childhood fears, the diagnosis of developmental defects, and the need for individual guidance for each individual child are dealt with.

A summary discussion of the significance of child-development research is found in the third part. In Part II, as well as in Part III, the author interprets the meaning of such "norms," or standard patterns of behavior occurring at various age levels, as have been developed in the Yale Psycho-Clinic; and he points out the value of these norms in studying and prognosticating mental development and capacities of individual children. One may feel that there is still much to be learned before completely reliable measurements of the potentialities of the infant and young child can be given. Nevertheless, the work done in the Clinic is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of child development, since it has shown that there are fairly definite measurements which may be made at different age levels. These help to make it possible to say what a child's capaci-

ties and limitations are, and aid parent and teacher in directing and guiding the child with greater intelligence and insight.

The book should be of value to psychologists, and also to teachers who are especially interested in the mental development and education of young children

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Der menschliche Lebenslauf als psychologisches Problem. By PROFESSOR CHARLOTTE BUEHLER, University of Vienna. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1933. Pp. xvi+328. R.M. 10.50.

Professor Charlotte Buehler has given us a rather unusual book: *The Course of Man's Life, a Psychological Problem.* Unusual, not only because of the results of her investigation, but also because of the methods and material of the research. Two hundred biographies of men and women prominent in European-American cultural life during the past two centuries, with an additional fifty life-histories (collected in an old peoples' home in Vienna), comprise the material studied. Not only the biographical facts of each individual life are subjected to careful scrutiny: the author goes further. She studies the actual statements of men about themselves; oral and written statements gathered from diaries, letters, and conversations. The use of such material arose from her conviction that a knowledge of the forces shaping man's existence, which was restricted to the events of his life, gave an only imperfect picture of his development. To enlarge this picture, to sharpen its contours, an insight into the way man reacts to his experiences proved indispensable. Not only how man lives is important, but also, how man comes to terms with life.

The result of Professor Buehler's study is a composite picture of the human life, in which individual differences are effaced by the more fundamental similarity of man to man. It is a picture of the typical life of the typical man. In this typical life, she finds, the characteristic development occurs in five phases. From the first to the final stage of development, a process of psychological ascent and decline is active, analogous to the biological expansion and restriction which has already been established by physiologists. What, then, are the five phases of development through which man, regardless of heredity, environment, or special gifts, inevitably passes?

The first phase covers the entire period of childhood and early youth, a period which is considered by the author as preceding the actual onset of life. The second phase is characterized by a certain experimental, trial-and-error existence. It is the period of approaches to the tasks of life. The individual has as yet no clear or complete conception of a problem, and where there is success, it is only partial. Accomplishment, to be sure, may occur, but it is in the nature of the satisfaction of a personal "need" or longing, rather than the fulfilment of an

objective and impersonal problem. Not only the events of life, but also the personal contacts made during the stage of development, are marked by this tentative, provisional quality. Nevertheless, already in this, the second phase, man begins to view life in a more earnest light: as a striving-and-working toward some definite goal. As this drive becomes clearer and more powerful, the individual enters the third and main stage of his development.

It is the author's opinion that during this period man attains maturity. He finds at last his real rôle in life; his right work. For the third period is a period of specialization. Nor is the finality and "rightness" of choice restricted to work. With equal force it pervades the realm of personal relations. Man chooses more critically and carefully—and with a final sense of the correctness of his selection—his friends, sweetheart, or wife.

The ground is prepared for the onset of the fourth phase. This further development is marked by a somewhat altered point of view on the part of the individual. It is no longer sufficient to do the right thing, to have found one's real work. It is further necessary that the results be valuable. The individual's sudden emphasis on "success," on the *results* of his life, characterizes the fourth phase of his development.

The potentialities of life have now been realized. The territory of the human adventure has been conquered, and the possibilities offered by work and by fellowmen exploited. In her biographical material, Professor Buehler finds that at this point decline begins. Retrospect over the past and passive conjectures concerning the very limited future mark the fifth and final stage of life. So the author finds it possible to view this last phase as a sequence to life in the same way that the first period of childhood and early youth was regarded as preceding it.

A consideration of this five-act drama reveals the fact that the decisive moment in man's development is the progressive transition from the second to the third and main phase of life. This involves a gradual, or, as is sometimes the case, sudden shift from a provisional to a specific view of life; from many goals to one goal. As an example of the author's methods of extracting these conclusions from her material, it is possible to summarize a few biographies.

Queen Victoria was eighteen when she came to the throne. Governing, she found to be a highly pleasant occupation, and was proud and happy in her numerous activities. When she married Prince Albert, she had not the slightest intention of seeing in him anything beyond a husband. She advised him against accepting a peerage, lest, as she explained, the people resent his interference into politics. Gradually, however, Prince Albert rose in her estimation, and the more she recognized and appreciated his ability, the more she herself withdrew from activity. She finally centered her entire energy on her duties as wife and mother, finding, as she so often stated, her real fulfillment in this, her new mode of life.

Though the transition which occurred during the life of the Austrian empress, Maria Theresa, was as decisive as that of Victoria's the direction of the change was exactly reverse. It was during Maria Theresa's young womanhood that she

was preoccupied with social and household obligations. As a result of unforeseen circumstances, she was suddenly compelled to take over duties of state. In the years that followed, she evidenced her growing capacity to cope with the extraordinary difficulties which beset her. Her maturity revealed her exceptional and specific talents as ruler, before which her duties as wife and mother rapidly receded.

An interesting example of the way in which this progressive development conditions man's personal life is the biography of Franz Liszt.

> Decisive for the development of Liszt's musical career was the change of attitude towards his musical accomplishments. This change consisted of a shift from his earlier phase, in which he was a successful, but not yet satisfied, virtuoso, to the later period of his conscious, planned work, as composer. Corresponding chronologically with this development was his renunciation of his early love, Marie d'Agoult, in favor of his later attachment, the Princess Wittgenstein. It was a change which apparently arose from the same altered viewpoint. "Perhaps," he had once written to Marie d'Agoult, "you are not the woman I need, but you are the woman I desire." The impetuosity of his earlier choice was later followed by the selection of the Princess. He loved her, certainly, but she was, in addition, a person who fully understood him and his work; a woman, in fact, whom he "needed."

During the course of her investigation, the author is preoccupied with the following problem: What actually takes place in the psychic attitude of man as the first signs of biological decline become evident? Does he readily restrain his personal ambitions and longings? Or does he rebel against the forces of life which compel him to relinquish them? *How, in short, does man react to the realization that he is growing old?*

The study of the biographies made an answer possible. Cases were found, certainly, in which a protest against growing old is evident; the grievance of the aging Casanova, for example, a grievance which expressed itself in repeated complaints against the loss of his vitality and the decline of his strength. But most men show a curious inner adjustment to the limitations which age places upon their lives. The adjustment is not automatic, and perhaps not always conscious. Professor Buehler considers it the result of a tendency which appears to be active during the entire course of man's life. This tendency is the *readiness to fulfil a task*. How it affects man's third and main phase of life has already been made clear. As the individual grows older, this tendency results in the *willingness to view the whole of life as a task*. It is to this altered attitude that the author attributes man's ability to adjust to the fact of growing old, without any marked indications of protest.

For this feeling of the task-quality of life, the term "destiny" is employed. The word is not to be understood in a determinate or mystical sense. It is used exclusively to describe man's willingness to view his life as a striving-toward-something, a living-for-something, or someone. Professor Buehler is convinced that this sense of destiny pervades every individual's life, at one time or another. In its earlier development, it makes specialization in work and life possible; in

its later development, it makes the limitations of age somehow humanly acceptable. And when decline does occur, when the fifth stage is covered, and life, biologically, closes, the products of man—whether offspring or work—continue to exist. This continuity of man's products may be considered to constitute a lengthening of the term of his life, which we may, if we wish, regard as his compensation.

The present work represents the results of several years of conscientious research on the part of Professor Buehler and her associates, in the Psychological Institute of the University of Vienna. In a previous book, *Childhood and Youth*, the author has traced the psychological development of the child in great detail. In her present investigation the same developmental technique is applied to an analysis of adult life, on the basis of a large collection of biographical material. Thus an entirely new problem is drawn into the field of scientific psychological research. It may also be possible to find in this work the beginnings of a psychology of personality. In any case, the results of the study are provocative and interesting.

OLGA RUBINOW

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The Free Negro Family. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1932. Pp. 75. $1.00.

The Free Negro Family: A Study of Family Origins before the Civil War, is one of a series of studies of the Negro family which is being carried on by the Social Science Department of Fisk University. In a previous study, *The Negro Family in Chicago*, published in 1932, Mr. Frazier points out that the majority of studies of Negro life has considered the Negro group as an undifferentiated mass and has made comparisons in relation to delinquency, crime, poverty, and family organization with the white group. This present study describes, in a series of case studies, the origin of many of the prominent free Negro families in the United States, and traces their history. Thus, Mr. Frazier, by taking one unit of the Negro population, wishes to illustrate the social and cultural differences which are obscured by treating Negroes as a homogeneous group.

The important part played by the free Negro in the economic life of many southern communities, such as Charleston and New Orleans, prior to the Civil War, is either not generally known or too often forgotten. For instance, in New Orleans, where, because of the Latin background, there was less prejudice in regard to color, many of the free Negroes were prominent in the skilled trades and certain business enterprises. In 1860 this group was credited with owning about fifteen million dollars' worth of property. Many of the descendants of these original free Negro families have found their way into the professions and the capitalist class and are now scattered over the country. Mr. Frazier draws

largely for his material on such secondary sources as the *Journal of Negro History*, Ulrich Phillip's *American Negro Slavery* and *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, and other well-known sources, as well as many rarer and less accessible volumes. His material is interestingly presented.

ELIZABETH WISNER
TULANE UNIVERSITY

The Negro's Church. By B. E. MAYS and J. W. NICHOLSON. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. Pp. 299+18. $2.00.

This admirable survey was undertaken "at the request of a number of Negro leaders" and "is based on a first-hand study of 609 urban, 185 rural churches widely distributed in 12 cities and 4 county areas carefully selected . . . . so that the samples may be considered fairly representative . . . . it constitutes the first comprehensive study of the Negro Church." In such a study it is to be expected that such topics as: the historical origins of the Negro church; its epochs of development (ante-bellum, post-bellum, migrational from south to north, 1915–30); membership; church equipment; programs of activities; financing; worship usages; the message of the ministers; urban and rural overchurching; the educational status of the ministry should be treated at chapter length, well charted, and interestingly written. Significant facts arrest one's attention on almost every page. The Negro ministry, which is still the first and most influential profession of the race, contains fewer college-educated men than the estimate of the *U.S. Census* (i.e., 27.7 per cent, not 38 per cent) and is losing its attractions for such, although the urban churches prefer them to others. Yet the well-educated minister will occasionally resort to the method of "shouting the people" to cover up lack of preparation or to raise money, although sermons of this nature are declining in popularity. The Negro church is perhaps the foremost channel of adult education for the race, yet out of 100 typical sermons 26 touched concrete life-situations, 54 were predominantly other-worldly, 20 were highly doctrinal or theological. Money raising is very unsystematic, the churches are heavily in debt, the average weekly contribution per member is but 37 cents, both urban and rural sections are over-churched, religious education is backward and inefficient in every respect.

On page 122 appears a program chart, showing that 590 out of 609 churches have committees for poor relief, 18 for feeding the unemployed, 5 have free clinics, 5 have motion pictures, 5 have Boy and Girl Scout troops, 3 have day nurseries. With respect to the problem of juvenile delinquency among Negro children, so acute in the large cities, the editors suggest that: "The church, through its organized teaching and other activities, might assist the probation officers with family case-work; might agitate for the creation of agencies for the protection of children who are under-privileged; for the establishment of homes for children, for playgrounds, recreation facilities and the proper care of child

life; for the purification of neighborhoods where organized vice is permitted" (p. 166). Yet not one example is given of a Negro church engaging in such efforts; it is plainly stated that little response is given to public agencies by the Negroes themselves and little responsibility is felt. Considerable attention is given to inter-racial comity and pulpit exchange (pp. 157–58), but a generalization ("very limited") is again resorted to with respect to co-operation with the major secular and civic agencies.

Chapters i ("The Church in Negro Life") and xvii ("The Genius of the Negro Church") are appealing and graphic. One is reminded that the church is the first community organization that the Negro actually owned and controlled and besides the lodge remains the only one where opportunity is given "to be somebody"; to escape into an atmosphere of self-respect and soul-liberty out of a world "where he must be just a little more careful than most people as he elbows his way through a crowded thoroughfare; to hold his job he must often go the second mile, do more work and take less money, be an epitome of politeness, smile when ordinarily he would frown; must pretend that it is all right when the respect that is habitually given to others is denied him." Moreover, the Negro church has encouraged Negro education and Negro business enterprise; it offers a thoroughly democratic fellowship; its pulpit is freer than most "white" pulpits to denounce social and economic wrong; and its spirit is above all racial prejudice and discrimination. A white visitor is never refused admission or given a gallery seat, but is customarily given the preference. Like the "black and unknown bards" of James Weldon Johnson's poem, it has in spite of its many outward defects and failures, helped "a race from wood and stone to Christ." For the continued and increasing fulfilment of such a function, this volume should afford Negro leaders wise counsel and encouragement.

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe. By MARGARET MEAD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xiv+313. $4.50.

In this volume Dr. Mead gives us a picture of an Indian tribe in transition. She has taken a people, whom she calls "the Antlers," and has traced them from their old condition through the various changes resulting from meeting with the whites.

These early contacts were in part beneficial, but with the encroachments of white settlers there were many causes for conflict. Old customs were uprooted, religious and moral codes were weakened or discarded, while the vices of the invaders played havoc with the natives. Finally, "the Antlers" were urged to adopt a life radically different from that of their ancestors.

Miss Mead lived close to the natives and sought in every way to see the

forces making for integration as well as for disintegration. Her avowed purpose was to see if under similar conditions "general trends of culture conflict can be predicted and a detailed study here and there do duty as illumination and illustration of a wider social process."

In the first section she treats of the background, the economic situation, political and religious life, and social organization. Part II deals first with the place of the Indian woman in this changing culture, then follows a complete analysis of 160 households, the marital status of 202 couples, and a section on case histories of delinquent women.

Miss Mead's book is further evidence of an increasing interest in acculturation studies. Redfield's recent volume *Tepoztlán* was a pioneer study in this field; other investigations are under way, and we may hope soon to have a considerable body of material in this field of social research.

FAY-COOPER COLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Yellow Dog Contract. By JOEL I. SEIDMAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. 96. $1.00.

This is the first book devoted entirely to "yellow dog contracts"—by which are meant promises made by workmen, as a condition of procuring employment, that they will not join a labor union.

Such "contracts" came prominently into public notice when the United States Senate in 1930 rejected the nomination of Judge John J. Parker for Justice of the Supreme Court; but they have been in use in this country ever since 1870 and in England were used by some employers in the 1830's. The term "yellow dog," however, was not applied to them until after the World War. In England when first used the yellow dog contract was referred to as "the document"; in this country they were long called "iron clads." The accidental fact that in the West Virginia coal fields the anti-union promises were included in contracts which authorized the operators to eject the miners from company houses without notice—"to kick them out like a yellow dog"—led to the designation of these contracts by a term of opprobrium which has proved as helpful to labor in fighting this device as "open shop" and "American plan" to employers in their battles against union recognition.

While anti-union pledges were extensively used earlier, they were of little significance industrially until the United States Supreme Court in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. case (245 U.S. 229) held that employers, on the strength of these contracts, could secure injunctions prohibiting unions from attempting to organize their employees. Previously, their only value was the psychological one that the workmen who had signed them might hesitate about joining unions. With this decision they acquired a legal value, as well—not, indeed, against the workmen immediately concerned but against outsiders, the labor unions,

and their organizers. There never has been a case in which a workman who promised not to join a labor union has been sued because he broke this agreement, but many injunctions are still in force prohibiting unions from attempting to organize the employees of corporations which make such promises a condition of employment. Unlike other contracts, the purpose of the yellow dog agreement is not so much to bind the parties to the contract as to handicap the unions, which are in no sense parties to the contract.

The New York Court of Appeals has taken the position that the "yellow dog" lacks mutuality and cannot be regarded as a contract in any proper sense. According to this view, while employers may lawfully refuse to employ union labor, the courts will not assist them in keeping out the unions. Such a concept of the yellow dog contract lies at the basis of the provision of the Norris Act of 1932 that no federal court shall issue any injunction premised upon a workmen's promise not to join a union, and also of the similar provisions in anti-yellow dog contract laws now in force in a dozen states. Whether the courts generally will follow the lead of the New York Court of Appeals, no one can say, but there is every reason to believe that they will do so if they can be made to understand the true nature and import of this contract.

Seidman's study ought to be helpful in this respect. It tells the story of the yellow dog contract from its origin in England down to the most recent laws designed to destroy its legal effect. It is a research study based mainly on information gathered from trade-union publications and reported legal cases. This was supplemented by field investigations in the West Virginia mining area and in the Philadelphia hosiery district, in both of which the use of yellow dog contracts has been very extensive.

On some points this study does not add very much to what has been previously known about the subject. Its treatment of the legal questions involved is neither exhaustive nor particularly illuminating. On the extent of the present use of yellow dog contracts, a more adequate study which has not yet been published was made in 1929 by Dr. E. R. Burton for one of the national civic organizations. But this book is the most complete account of the history of the yellow dog contract that has appeared, and is excellent in its treatment of the terms of non-union agreements and their practical import.

EDWIN E. WITTE

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

English Justice. By "SOLICITOR." London: George Routledge & Sons, 1932. Pp. xii+249. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The American public has become accustomed to the stream of criticism which for the past twenty years at least, with perhaps an interruption during the war, has been directed toward the administration of criminal justice in this country. The accidental nature of our definitions of criminal offenses; the lawless treatment by the police of the accused and arrested persons; the elaborate character

of the apparatus for securing an accusation; the political complexion of the prosecuting machinery; the ineptness of the jury and the lack of power on the part of the judge to comment upon the law; the relative lack of professional equipment possessed by those who practice in criminal courts and those who sit upon the bench in criminal cases—these are a few of the imperfections especially characteristic of the criminal law administration.

Survey after survey has called attention to the same defects in one jurisdiction after another; and frequently there is the implication, even the expressed statement, that in these respects American criminal law administration differs greatly from the administration of English criminal justice. In the present volume, "Solicitor's" extremely interesting, clever, and incisive description of the English administration disabuses the reader's mind of any impression that the English situation, even if better than the American, is satisfactory. The writer apparently thinks that there is a widespread and deep-seated discontent which he believes may take on dangerous proportions with the administration of English criminal justice. The book is written out of a rich experience and is obviously motivated by the high purpose, although the writer disclaims the part of a reformer, of securing improvements, and of lessening the degree to which injustice results from the administration of the criminal law.

It would be gratifying to quote at considerable length, and attention is especially drawn to the chapter on "Crime and Punishment" (p. 185), in which an extraordinarily sympathetic and convincing discussion of the characteristics of the different groups of offenders is given; to the chapter on "Imprisonment for Debt," in which again well-chosen illustrations illuminate that confused subject; on "Rich and Poor," in which the essential unfairness of the English social scales are sympathetically set out. The descriptions of the relative functions of barrister and solicitor (p. 172) is especially interesting to the American reader. The discussion of the importance of the advocate (p. 169) in the courts of summary jurisdiction and the recommendations with reference to the reform of the jury (p. 167) are likewise constructive and suggestive.

The style is interesting. The experience of the writer is evidently varied and rich. His sympathy is quick and his discussion altogether objective. Perhaps the nearest approach to the sensational is in the discussion of those cases in which an innocent person had been found guilty. For the writer, that is the unpardonable sin on the part of responsible officials.

S. P. B.

American Foundations and Their Fields. Edition of 1932 (Covering Activities of the Year 1931). New York: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1932. Pp. 69.

This detailed summary covers the activities of 102 foundations in the United States during the calendar year 1931. Information was requested from 207 foundations. Of this number, 10 ignored the request, 7 refused to supply the

data, and presumably the remaining 88 furnished facts not sufficiently complete to permit their inclusion in all tables. Although more than half of the foundations are thus omitted from the study, the largest and most influential cooperated in providing detailed figures; and the resulting summaries are therefore interesting and significant.

Thirty fields of interest have been set up, such as aesthetics, child welfare, heroism, social welfare, and so forth; and the grants are distributed among the lines of these interests. Many fields have been subdivided to provide more specific information. Child welfare, for example, has been classified both on the basis of groups served, such as half-orphans, Negroes, newsboys, and so forth, and also on the basis of type of agency benefited, such as case work, clubs, nurseries, playgrounds, and so forth. Total expenditures in each field of interest are also classified on the basis of the predominant characteristic of the undertaking—that is, education, research, or social action. The arbitrariness of many of the classifications is freely admitted. However, most critics would probably find difficulty in making specific suggestions for improvement, owing to the wide assortment and the interrelatedness of the enterprises in which foundations are interested, ranging as is pointed out in the Foreword, "from cave dwellers' art and the causes of pessimism in the Middle Ages to the preserving of game birds, maintenance of undertaking parlors and research into ventilation, comfort stations and interstellar complications of modern times."

The present report is the second of a series that apparently will be issued annually. Some few years hence when sufficient data have accumulated, a searching analysis of foundations should be undertaken. Already it seems clear that the foundations, like the social agencies of two decades ago, operate on a purely individualistic basis. Social agencies have in part corrected the situation voluntarily through concerted effort to blend individual programs into an organic pattern of community action. A voluntary council of foundations might contribute in like manner toward a more effective coverage of the vast field of human need. In England the central government has found it advisable to exercise some control over the large blocks of wealth segregated in trusts and foundations. Federal control over interstate commerce in this country suggests a convenient fiction for justifying supervision over organizations engaged in interstate philanthropy.

A. W. McM.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

CRIPPLED CHILDREN OF MASSACHUSETTS

Final Report of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare Relative to the Number and Care of Crippled Children (House No. 401, December, 1931). Boston, 1932. Pp. 78.

The report of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare on the results of its survey of the number and care of crippled children has been looked forward to by the workers for crippled children throughout the country. Authorized by the legislature of 1929 and continued in 1930 and 1931, it constitutes one of the most thorough and painstaking studies attempted on a state-wide scale, passing in review the work of a state which recognized the gravity of the problem of its crippled and undertook to meet it by state provision after a census made in 1904.

The study has been made under the direction of Dr. John E. Fish, superintendent of the Massachusetts Hospital School at Canton, with an advisory committee: Dr. Richard C. Cabot, chairman, Dr. W. L. Aycock, Rev. George P. O'Conor, and Dr. James W. Sever, Miss Margaret MacDonald, assistant director, and Miss Margaret Ridlon made the field investigation.

In addition to a census, the committee sought to secure a scientific classification according to the nature and extent of disability, the mentality of the children, and their economic outlook. By definition, the investigation was restricted to children who "did not have the normal use of bones and muscles for education and work." In consequence, the number of children listed, 6,141, falls far short of the ratio to the general population discovered in other recent surveys.

The report on findings is given in three sections: the first section deals with the entire number—6,141 crippled children—giving data relative to causes of crippling, extent of handicap, and economic prospects; the second deals with 1,034 children, designated as the institutional group, giving distribution in institutions and classification according to age, sex, and disability; the third section deals with the remaining 5,107 children, giving data relative to geographic distribution, age, sex, disability, treatment, and education. It is significant to note that the 157 crippled children attending a special day school are included in the institutional group.

The findings relative to the major causes of crippling are of especial value as the classification is based largely upon laboratory observation and scientific studies of cases extending over many years. The incidence of infantile paralysis in 34.99 per cent of the cases corresponds closely with findings of studies made in other communities of similar character. Spastic paralysis, however, was found in 17.05 per cent of the cases, a higher rate than has been recorded in

previous studies, while bone and joint tuberculosis, found in only 11.28 per cent of the cases, shows a decrease attributed to improvement in public health regulations and in the milk supply.

The findings relative to "economic prospects" are not convincing. They are based upon the investigators' estimates of the "probable economic future under appropriate care and education" as "good," "fair," or "unpromising." Experience of vocational advisers and placement officers and studies of the economic records of crippled children in after-life show that it is the "unpromising" who achieve success in an amazingly large percentage of cases.

Educators and social workers especially interested in the vital problems of special class education and vocational training will be disappointed in the report, which gives major emphasis to enumeration, distribution, and diagnosis. The most practical service of the report will be to social workers in Massachusetts as a handbook and guide to the opportunities now provided in the state for the treatment and education of crippled children.

LAURA HOOD

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THE EVER-PRESENT HOUSING PROBLEM

Home Ownership, Income and Types of Dwellings, Vol. IV, and *Farm and Village Housing*, Vol. VII, in the "Reports of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownerhsip." Edited by JOHN M. GRIES and JAMES FORD, assisted by JAMES S. TAYLOR. Washington: National Capital Press, Inc., 1932. Vol. IV, pp. xviii+230; Vol. VII, pp. xviii+293. Each volume $1.15.

The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership was characterized by two conflicting attitudes of mind toward its task that were never resolved and that appear again and again to puzzle the reader of the published reports. One group among the members of the conference committees recognizes in the "housing problem" a series of economic conditions that are beyond the power of the individual owner, tenant, builder, or investor to control. These committee members conceived it their function to bring whatever light they could to the solution of a common or social problem. The reports of their findings are addressed to those impersonal and disinterested forces in the community that work toward improvements in our social structure through legislation, through law enforcement, through city and regional planning, through the modification of existing financial institutions. They suggest, to a certain extent, a program for social action. The second group, however, sees the "housing problem" in the ignorance of individual buyers and builders and conceives its task to be the instruction of these individuals with regard to the essentials of a good house, the best way to finance it, the best way to build it.

It is thus possible to find a formula for mixing paint, a description of lath and plaster, and, as a culmination to one chapter, an invitation to send to the

National Lumber Manufacturers' Association for a free booklet giving complete specifications for the houses which illustrate the chapter. Within the same volume, however, there is to be found an enlightening summary of facts which the U.S. government and private investigators have already discovered with regard to the housing provided for rural migratory labor. Deplorable conditions are still to be found in several states in agricultural, cannery, and construction camps. In a few states, notably California, vigorous control has been exercised by a state body with adequate power. This section of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing has a social and economic philosophy which it does not hesitate to state: "Wherever such labor is used, the fact that the migratory family creates for the state a considerable portion of the value of the industries involved, suggests the responsibility of the state in the fulfillment of certain social obligations toward those families."

The volume on *Farm and Village Housing* is composed of twenty-two chapters, each of which is the report of a special investigation or is a separate paper written by one or more members of the committee. The subjects cover a wide variety of aspects of rural housing, and the reports are very uneven as to quality. One chapter contains the report of a field investigation in 28 counties, including 2,162 farmhouses and 600 village houses. This investigation supplies objective verification of a number of hitherto unsupported generalizations about rural housing in various sections of the United States. The committee concludes, upon the basis of statistics collected, that there is little apparent need for more space in rural homes but that there has been inadequate attention to modern equipment, conveniences, and aesthetics. "There is a need for the development and popularization of standards that are within the reach of different economic groups in the farm population, and of plans for achieving these standards." Another chapter outlines suggested standards for the farmhouse, emphasizing that the standards are "suggested" and are to be regarded as bases for further discussion. Another chapter analyzes the U.S. Census data for 1930 with regard to the value of farm dwellings in the several states. In conclusion this report says: "To those who are familiar with the condition of farmers' dwellings, many reasons are apparent for their low valuation. The incomes of many farmers are so low that expensive dwellings cannot be paid for from the earnings of the farm, nor can modern conveniences be installed."

One member of the committee made an interesting use of village postmasters and rural mail carriers to distribute a questionnaire to farm and village families who had built new homes or remodeled old ones. Questions were asked with regard to the method of financing the building or remodeling. Usable replies were received for 1,546 houses built and 2,343 houses remodeled. Nearly one-half of the new farmhouses and one-third of the village houses reported upon were paid for in cash from savings, insurance indemnities, or other personal funds. Where the houses were not paid for in cash, private individuals supplied the bulk of the funds borrowed. Two-thirds of all remodeling operations were paid for in cash. Over 40 per cent of the funds borrowed were loans for a period of less than five

years. This report also ends with a comment upon income: "The problem among the lower-income groups is to find some means of increasing incomes or of building satisfactory houses at greatly reduced costs. It is probable that most persons have as good homes as they can afford at the present time."

The fourth volume in the series contains the reports of three subcommittees: (1) Home Ownership and Leasing, (2) Relationship of Income and the Home, and (3) Types of Dwellings. This last committee concludes that the essentials of good housing can be provided in any "type" of house but that the temptation to crowd out certain of the essentials is greater in some types or varieties "largely because of possibilities of greater profit on land. If there were no profit to the developer in land overcrowding, one of the most serious counts against the multiple dwelling and the row dwelling would probably disappear." And again: "The basic evil in bad housing is land overcrowding. The basic reason for land overcrowding has been speculation in land prices."

The brief report of the Committee on Home Ownership and Leasing, with its three appendixes, is addressed primarily to the individual who is financially able to buy a home of his own or to the renter who is assumed to be able to pay his rent but may be in need of advice as to terms, leases, janitor service, repairs, etc. The only suggestions of a more general social nature are recommendations that the Department of Commerce continue and extend its collection and distribution of information which will be of value to buyers, renters, and builders. The appendix on "Home Ownership and the Business Cycle" contains some interesting sidelights on real estate cycles and booms.

The Subcommittee on Relationship of Income and the Home had one of the most important tasks of the conference, one upon which many of the other committees depended for ultimate guidance. The report of the committee contains an excellent digest of available information upon family incomes and the relationship between income and expenditures for housing. In spite of the many studies of family expenditures that have been made in the United States, we are still without adequate knowledge with regard to the expense for housing. This is largely because, in the general studies of family expenditures, housing was only one item, an item so complicated in itself that difficult cases were avoided and general classifications were set up to obscure the variations in detail which might be most illuminating. For this reason the subcommittee sponsored a field investigation in the city of Buffalo upon the subjects of methods of financing and costs of housing for 789 home owners. Despite the cumbersome form of the report some interesting data are presented with regard to income, purchase price, and mortgages. The committee also presents a brief description of low-cost housing projects in the United States. This section was apparently prepared from correspondence, not field investigation. It is regrettable that this section of the report was not further elaborated since there is likely to be considerable question as to the feasibility of such plans. The general conclusion is illuminating: "The majority of dwellings, however, in many of these large-scale developments, although tax exempt, rent for more than $35.00 per month, and this

amount, in many instances, rents but a three-room apartment." Although our data on family incomes and expenditures for rent are meager, as the committee itself has shown, it is nevertheless safe to hazard a guess that the large-scale tax-exempt housing projects have not yet met the problem of the average unskilled wage-earner, whose earnings are certainly less than $2,000 and may be less than $1,500 a year.

Thus, the reports of the President's Conference turn again and again to the question of family income as the most important limiting factor to the increase of home ownership and the improvement of conditions in rented houses. With the best will in the world toward providing cheap and good housing, it is doubtful whether it can be brought within the reach of a large group of the families of unskilled wage-earners unless we turn to what President Hoover denied to be one of the objects of the conference, namely, "to set up government in the building of homes."

HELEN R. JETER

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WORKING CHILDREN

Employed Boys and Girls in Rochester and Utica, New York. By ALICE CHANNING. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 218.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. Pp. v+74. $0.10.

The field work for this study was completed before the beginning of the depression, so that it is a picture of comparatively prosperous conditions. It analyzes the relation of age, school grade completed, intelligence as measured by psychological tests, and special training, to type of work and wages.

In reading research studies of this type, one is always struck with the efficacy of the law in raising standards, in spite of what we know of occasional laxity of enforcement. Raising the school-leaving age from fourteen to sixteen means that the great mass of the children receive school training to the older year. Children drop out at the earlier age if the law permits them to do so, quite as much from habit and custom as from necessity, but tend to acquiesce without question, if the law requires two more years of school.

Children who were seventeen when this study was made are now twenty-one, and one cannot but wonder not only what their experience has been in these four years of depression, but also what tremendous changes in occupational requirements they will witness in the next twenty years, before their superannuation. Educated and trained in what we are all beginning to agree were the closing years of an economic era, but years of outstanding rigidity in thought and impatience with all questioning, these children are now groping in a period of transition, the duration of which is beyond our guess, as is also much of its direction.

It is only natural that vocational training should be groping in no less bewildered state. Even when this study was made, few children were found to be working in any trade connected with the special training they had received in

the school system: a general familiarity in the handling of tools and machines for the boys, and clerical work for the girls, came nearest any direct actual fitting for jobs. In the continuation schools an effort was made to co-ordinate the requirements of the outside job and the two hours a week in the school.

Any good feminist is sure to resent the restricted imagination which makes out curricula for girls in trade or continuation schools; home-making and clerical training bind down the horizon for them. If we are finally to be liberated from the necessity for human toil in providing our daily bread, engineers and inventors in great numbers will have to contrive more intricate and ingenious machines than we have yet dreamed of, and why a part in this great adventure should not be granted to women, it is impossible to say. Surely the feminine mind is in no way deficient in ability to contrive, plan, and discover, and yet lack of machine-shop training, added to custom, closes the door. Russia is beginning to show us what women can do if given machine-shop training and a chance to become familiar with mechanics.

In reading the report one suddenly starts and rubs one's eyes, to realize that we have been caught napping in the matter of maximum hours of work permitted to young persons under eighteen. In the face of national codes of forty or even thirty-five hours a week for adults, permissive hours up to forty-four or forty-eight for juveniles give one a distinct shock. Many intrastate occupations must now be brought in line by drastic revising of state child-labor laws.

The Bureau study points out once again the lack of educational content in the great bulk of work done by these children who drop out of school as soon as the law permits. Since time immemorial two arguments have been used against raising the age at which child labor is legal: that if the children do not work they will stand idle about the corner drugstore, whereas work is beneficial; and second, that the over-age children get nothing from school. Of course, the answer is that school and not the drugstore must replace too early work and that school at its most inefficient gives more education and training than almost all the work open to young people, and will give infinitely more, as soon as we are able to envisage this new workaday world the future holds, if we have open, adaptable minds in discovering the possible training needed to cope with it, and courage in putting into practice our discoveries.

AMY G. MAHER

TOLEDO CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

THE OLDER WORKER IN NEW YORK

The Older Worker in Industry. A Study of New York State Manufacturing Industries. By SOLOMON BARKIN. Albany: J. B. Lyon, Printer, 1933. Pp. 467.

This study is described as "A Report to the Joint Legislative Committee on Unemployment under the Auspices of the Continuation Committee of the New York State Commission on Old Age Security." The director of the research staff of seven persons was Dr. Luther Gulick.

Part I is largely an outline of the problem of the older worker, giving the reasons for this inquiry, the history of the controversy, and its various phases. Part II describes the older person, the physiology of the aging process, and the effect of industrial employment on that process. Part III discusses at length the employment problems of the older person. Part IV analyzes the effect of present employment policies on the status of the older worker, and Part V outlines the path of remedial action.

This is a remarkable study. In spite of its length, there is no redundancy; every page is full of meat, and the presentation is clear and concise. It is confined to statement of fact, with astute analyses and conclusions, and it is interesting to note how this dispassionate picture arouses keen sympathy for the older worker's problem, perhaps even more so than an emotional appeal.

The author points out that the descending curve of our birth-rate, coupled with the ascent of the curve of the expectancy of life, means that we shall in the future have a larger percentage of persons over forty-five years of age in the population; 23 per cent in 1930, 29 per cent in 1950, and 38 per cent in 1975. If the employability of this growing group continues to be contested, the author predicts "many problems of perplexing character," unless new avenues for their employment be multiplied. This, of course, presupposes that in the face of power production, which increasingly diminishes opportunities for all classes and ages of workers, we shall retain employment as a basis for the distribution of the means of livelihood. If we continue to insist that he who will not or cannot work shall eat only in the breadline, then it is true that if the worker over forty-five is to survive, his food and shelter will come to him only through some contrivance to keep him on the pay-roll. One alternative is, of course, pensions or insurance, but still another is the probability that as opportunities for employment are reduced to infinitesimal proportions we shall have to find some other method than employment to put a minimum of purchasing power in the hands of the whole population—old, middle-aged, and young. One is struck with these same possibilities in reading the author's presentation of the hazards of industrial life, and their bearing on the aging process: one wonders if some topsy-turvy principles have not crept into our economic system when we find workers struggling for work which endangers health and shortens life, as the only alternative to starving from lack of income and purchasing power, and dreading with panicky terror the advance of the machine which makes human exposure to these industrial hazards no longer necessary.

The study shows that the older employee is more secure from discharge than the younger man, that the person twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age is 0.6 times more secure than the individual under twenty. On the other hand, the older worker is at a relative disadvantage "during the periods of lay-off when employers attempt to reduce their payrolls to meet the demand for lower per unit costs." Insofar as the older worker is protected from lay-offs, it is length of service, not age, which gives him any advantage. There is much to frustrate the attainment of a long service record: the half-dozen business cycles which he

is sure to have experienced, the mortality of business enterprise, mergers, and the migration of industry, all reduce the possibility of establishing a long period of service with one employer. Sir William Beveridge has vividly pictured the difficulty in finding employment for the man who is laid off after long association with one firm:

> Such cases are, indeed, often the most pitiable of all in the ranks of the unemployed, and lead to the most complete destitution. Prolonged continuity of employment with one firm is apt to make a man peculiarly helpless when that one firm dismisses him, or fails. He has no previous experience in looking for work; he has no personal connections with other employers or foremen; at a time of general depression he often goes under completely and rapidly when men of a more casual habit survive. . . . . The men peculiarly liable to this complete reversal of fortune are those who, without being in the ordinary sense skilled, acquire by proved trustworthiness, by familiarity with the course of business, or by old associations, a special value for one particular employer, but who when that employment fails cannot prove their worth to another.[1]

In the third form of separation, the resignation, the percentage of older workers is progressively smaller. This mirrors the older man's fear that if he quits his present job he will find difficulty in finding a new one, and may mean that he realizes that his best chance for continued employment is a long service record. For society as a whole, this militates to pull down the general standard of living, because even the chance for a better job is often lost through these fears, and the older worker hesitates to endanger a precarious foothold by joining any protest over working conditions, and is, therefore, an inert weight for the labor movement to carry.

It is in the highly skilled jobs that the older man has the best chance of being hired or rehired, but it is also the skilled, highly paid labor which it is most to the employer's advantage to displace by automatic machinery, so that skilled jobs are rapidly decreasing in number.

As the reader progresses through the carefully arrayed facts disclosed by this inquiry, such questions and comments as the above arise in his mind. Four years ago, before our seemingly secure world was shaken by economic collapse, thoughts of a very different nature would have accompanied this perusal, so that one is impressed by the enormous range of changes in our economic system which the future may possibly hold. The tentative approach to such possibilities shows that at least the depression has given us some mental elasticity as we try to look ahead.

The general conclusions and suggestions which close the study will be of great interest to the reader, after the author's comprehensive analysis of the problem. These suggestions as to the line of remedial action are treated separately for the employable and unemployable older worker.

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[1] *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, pp. 116–17.

STATISTICAL REPORTING OF MEDICAL SOCIAL AGENCIES

A Handbook on Records and Statistics in the Field of Public-Health Nursing. Prepared by a Joint Committee of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing and the Advisory Committee on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields of the United States Children's Bureau (U.S. Children's Bureau). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. vi+30. $0.05.

A Handbook on Statistical Reporting in the Field of Medical Social Service. Prepared by a Joint Committee of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers and the Advisory Committee on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields of the United States Children's Bureau (U.S. Children's Bureau). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. Pp. x+39. $0.05.

As both these documents state, there can be no possible way of comparing the work done by either profession involved until there are at least a minimum number of items of service which can be tabulated and related one to the other. In both fields, there is realization that only a limited number of items can be selected for comparison, and that while the accounting plans suggested cannot hope to answer every need felt by individual agencies, a beginning needs to be made. In the *Handbook on Records and Statistics in the Field of Public Health Nursing*, it is stated:

> The joint committee decided very early in its deliberations that no single system of reporting could be devised that would meet all the needs of all agencies. The handbook therefore places its chief emphasis upon the data which the committee believes agencies will wish to compare. From an administrative standpoint, the chief purposes of statistics on the cases under care are:
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> 1. To show the number of different cases under care in a given period or on a given date.
> 2. To give facts about cases under care which will be of value in determining the policies of an agency or which will serve as a guide in showing how far the agency is meeting the needs of a community.
>
> The case statistics, together with data relating to visits, appear to be basic in the service accounting of public health nursing agencies.

The *Handbook on Statistical Reporting in the Field of Medical Social Service* defines the objective of statistical recording in that field at present as:

1. To keep account of the volume of service rendered to patients by medical social service throughout the country.
2. To show change in volume of service from time to time; i.e., month to month and year to year.
3. To obtain facts of value in making comparisons, such as comparisons of the work of

different social service departments and of medical social work with other social work activities.

4. To yield facts of value in making decisions within the social service department, and by the hospital administration.
5. To furnish a means of interpreting the work to those who support it.

Both of these handbooks are especially significant because they reflect the professional thinking of various groups concerned with separate phases of each profession. Committees on records in both groups and those on function and on minimum standards in the medical social field have assisted in the effort to produce clear-cut definitions of terms, so that there may be the maximum comparability when statistics are gathered.

The methods of accounting were used experimentally before the publication of the handbooks, and have been found practicable. They may appear involved and difficult to the reader who has not put them into practice but it should be remembered that the description of the most simple process which in use becomes automatic, sounds elaborate in the extreme when it is written out. Anyone who has ever tried to learn a game or drive a car from a rulebook will realize how true this is.

It is clear that in neither document is there any evidence of a tendency to crystallize procedure but rather to reflect the thinking of the field as it is at present expressed by the professional groups which are constantly studying and restating standards. There is a value in setting down definitions, in gathering figures as to the actual performance even in a limited area of the work, and in comparing that performance in similar agencies over an increasing territory, that cannot be overestimated as a stimulus to further experimentation and growth. It is of signal importance that these methods of statistical recording have been developed jointly by the individual professions and that governmental department which has taken over the responsibility of producing an authoritative manual of procedure.

To the reader who is concerned with the philosophy behind the gathering of statistics, it may be interesting to note that in the public health nursing field, account is kept of numbers of visits as well as numbers of cases, while in the medical social field, count is kept of the number of patients and the number of services. The element of time accounting is thus included in one field and not in the other. While it is unwise to attempt comparisons along these lines because of the obvious differences of function and activity between the two fields, it is mentioned primarily to show that there is much food for thought beyond the mere mechanisms of a new accounting system to be found in these two public documents. They may profitably be read by board members, administrators, educators, and students, as well as by those whose business it is to set down and compare the items thus far selected for tabulation.

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